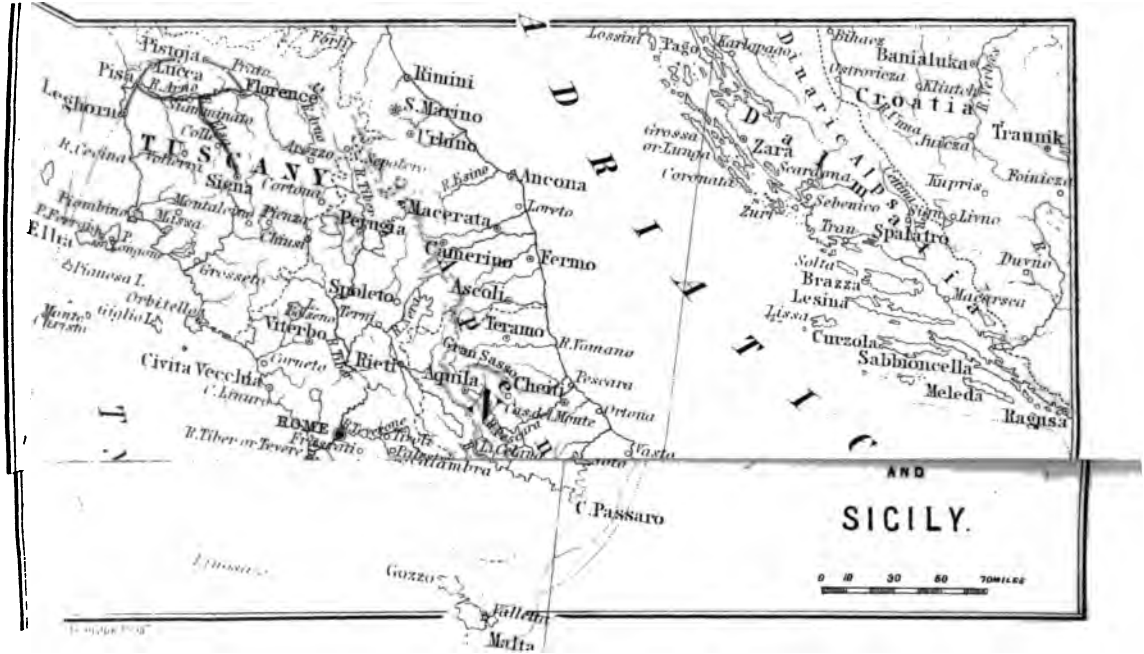
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A CENTURY OF DESPOTISM

IN

APLES AND SICILY.

BY

SUSAN HORNER,

TRANSLATOR OF COLLETTA'S "HISTORY OF NAPLES."

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PREFACE.

THE following sketch of the hundred years during which the Bourbons have reigned in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, has been almost entirely taken from the *History of Naples* by General Pietro Colletta, which was translated into English, and published about a year ago by Messrs. Constable of Edinburgh. The Author of these pages can only give a brief outline of events, many of which General Colletta has related with the animation of an eye-witness; but it is hoped that some may here find amusement and instruction, who, though desirous of becoming acquainted with the history of a country and people now engrossing public attention, have not leisure to devote to the more elaborate and interesting, as well as important work of the Neapolitan historian.

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A CENTURY OF DESPOTISM.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

History of the Bourbons—Charles of Bourbon conquers Naples—The Minister Tanucci—Reforms in ecclesiastical matters—Public Works—Charles is called to the throne of Spain.

THE kingdom of Naples includes the whole southern portion of the Italian Peninsula, from the Papal States, near the opening of the basin of the Lake of Fondi on the western shore, and the mouth of the Tronto on the eastern, to Capes Spartivento and St. Maria di Leuca in the south. Its length is about 400 miles, and the greatest breadth, from sea to sea, 300. A coast line of nearly 1500 miles exposes the kingdom an easy prey to every invader, while the singular beauty and fertility of the country has ever been a temptation to the lawless ambition of adventurers, or of monarchs bent on conquest. This may help to explain the constant change of rulers, which has weakened the respect for law and government in the people, while giving them a character for fickleness, because they are only too ready to welcome any change of task-masters.

The population (like our own) are a mixed race, descendants from the original Italian settlers, from Greek colonists, from Lombard invaders, from Normans, German

Swabians, Provençal French, and Spaniards. From these have sprung a lively, shrewd, intelligent race of men, which has produced some of the greatest European discoverers in philosophy and science. Though often justly reproached with cowardice, the great Napoleon has borne witness to the valour as well as discipline of the Neapolitans when acting as soldiers in his armies, and in the guerilla warfare of the last century they gave ample proof of courage and endurance; though accused of inconstancy, no people have suffered more nobly in their country's cause, as exiles, on the scaffold, in the dungeon, and on the field: but with a sunny climate, a productive soil, and surrounded by every charm that the greatest beauty in form and colour can present, the Neapolitan is inclined to indulge in lazy ease and sensuous enjoyment; while ignorant and superstitious, his lively wit and perception of the ludicrous, which would have made him dangerous to despotic rulers and wily priests, is turned into channels of greater safety for them, however degrading to himself.

Unfortunately, there is little reciprocity of feeling between Naples and the sister kingdom of Sicily. With the same advantages of soil and climate, the Sicilians not only speak in another dialect, but differ in many respects from the Neapolitans. The Sicilians have a greater spirit of independence, and are a more vigorous and hardy race; passionate and revengeful, but temperate and frugal in their habits, they unite manly dignity with an activity and perseverance, less frequently found in the Neapolitan. They cling to the reality of a separate and independent government, with a pertinacity which has excited the jealous indignation of their fellow-subjects at Naples as well as of the sovereign; but which, it is hoped, will ere long meet with its reward. They are descended from the ancient Sicani

Siculi, from Carthaginian, Saracenic, and Greek colonists, and finally from the Normans and Spaniards, who conquered and ruled in Naples as well as in Sicily. The island is of triangular form; the length of the northern and southern sides being about 175 miles, and of the eastern 115.

The kingdom of Naples is divided into fifteen provinces; Sicily into seven; over each province is placed an Intendente or governor. The provinces are divided into districts with a Sub-Intendente over each, and these are again divided into communes governed by communal councils. The magistracy consists of a Syndic and twelve officers, called Eletti. Thus the forms and statutes belonging to self-government have existed for many generations in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies—the living germs, it may be hoped, of a constitutional government at no distant period; but a warning to all free countries, that where institutions are suffered to fall into disuse, where the functionaries of municipal government are incapable, and where the office itself is held in contempt, the utmost freedom may exist in documents, amidst practical slavery and despotism. The population of the kingdom of Naples is about six millions, that of Sicily about two millions. The greatest curse to both countries lies in an overgrown ecclesiastical establishment, consisting of priests, friars, and nuns. Ministers of vice, ignorance, and sloth, in the garb of religion, they stunt the growth of intelligence, exercise the most degrading kind of tyranny, and consume the life of the nation.

It seems as if the extremes of misery and pleasure, of the highest intellectual development and the grossest ignorance, are destined to meet in this country of almost fabulous beauty. Amidst the sunny charms of sea and land, the volcano and earthquake spread death and desolation; *and where* philosophers have taught the world poli-

tical and natural science, every foreigner who visits the land, turns with disgust from scenes of loathsome vice and ignorant superstition. Yet, if the redeeming virtues shown by both Neapolitans and Sicilians amidst revolution, and in times of political struggles and danger, are as truly facts as their vices under bad rulers, it may safely be inferred that a good Government and time alone are wanting to add another useful member to the European family, and to convert a people of lazy slaves into efficient labourers in the field of human progess.

The kingdoms of Naples and Sicily have been successively governed by races of Norman, Swabian, French, and Spanish sovereigns. The present dynasty, occupying the throne of the Sicilies, is an offshoot from the Spanish branch of the Bourbons of France.* In 1713, Philip, grandson of Louis the Fourteenth, succeeded to the throne of Spain after the war called the War of Succession, which terminated in the Treaty of Utrecht. No sooner was Philip seated securely on his throne than he aimed at another kingdom in Italy. The Hapsburgs of Spain had been the last possessors of the thrones of Naples and Sicily, but by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, Philip had been obliged to cede Naples to their heir Charles, Emperor of Germany, and Sicily to Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy. Philip had been first married to Louisa, a princess of the House of Savoy, who died in 1713, and soon after her death he married Elizabeth Farnese, heiress to the Duchy of Parma. In 1717, he seized on the island of Sardinia, and made an incursion into Sicily. Defeated in this last attempt at in-

* The ancestor of the Bourbon family is Robert of France, Count of Clermont, fourth son of Louis the Ninth, king of France. He married Beatrice of Burgundy, heiress of the Lords of Bourbon. Three centuries later, their lineal descendant, Anthony of Bourbon, married Jeanne d'Albret, heiress of Navarre. Their son, Henry IV., succeeded the last of the Valois on the throne of France.

vasion, he consented to a peace, by which the Emperor of Germany added Sicily to Naples, Victor Amadeus obtained Sardinia, with the title of king, and Philip secured for himself the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza. As Prince Ferdinand, Philip's son by his first marriage, was heir to the throne of Spain, Queen Elizabeth Farnese, who had brought Parma by right of succession to the Spanish crown, claimed that Duchy and Piacenza for her eldest son, Charles of Bourbon; but, ambitious to obtain for him a greater crown and kingdom, she instigated Charles to place himself at the head of an expedition against Naples. Supplied with troops and generals from Spain, he succeeded in conquering the kingdom, and was crowned at Palermo in the year 1735, after taking a solemn oath to maintain the rights of the people, those of the Parliament, and the privileges of the city.

The history of the hundred and twenty-five years during which the Bourbons have sat on the throne of the Two Sicilies, is a period of not less importance and interest to Europe than that of the Reformation: for the minds of men, in all nations, had been gradually wrought up to the crisis which necessarily produced the French Revolution of 1789,—a revolution not confined to France, but affecting other countries and other people, though modified in degree and form, according to the previous state of the political and moral atmosphere.

As a race, the Bourbons have, perhaps, not been more guilty towards mankind than any other must have been, growing up under equally disadvantageous circumstances. Among them have been men eminent for ability, and even virtue, and others intellectually and morally inferior. The child born heir to a despotic monarchy, with the idea early instilled, *that he is* a being set apart by Providence as

well as man, to be the owner of a kingdom with several millions of human beings, whose lives and property are at his disposal, must naturally suppose every act of duty on his part, to be an act of spontaneous benevolence, for which he expects applause and gratitude. Surrounded by satellites to flatter and encourage him in the indulgence of his passions, while systematically kept ignorant, in order that they may maintain for themselves the reality of power, it is difficult, almost impossible, for the best nature to act wisely or well.

Charles of Bourbon, though imperfectly educated, and imbued with despotic ideas, was desirous of promoting the happiness and prosperity of the people whose government, through violence and bloodshed, he had arrogated to himself. At the time of the conquest he was only seventeen years of age, but he had the wisdom to discover the statesman-like genius of Bernardo Tanucci, a simple Florentine lawyer, to induce him to follow in his train to Naples, and to appoint him his minister.

For the age in which he lived, Tanucci was a man of liberal views both in politics and religion, and the chief aim of his administration was to deliver Naples from ecclesiastical tyranny and the pretensions of the Papacy. Though he had to encounter the bigotry of a Spaniard and a Bourbon in the King, he had the skill to obtain Charles's support for the measures he proposed; and the reforms which were commenced during his reign, Tanucci continued, when Regent, in the first years of his successor. He contrived to abolish an obnoxious tribute paid by Naples to the Popes, and to diminish the number of privileged persons, immunities, and rights of asylum for those guilty of serious crimes and misdemeanours; he limited *the priests ordained*, prevented acquisitions by the Church,

and forbade Papal bulls to take effect without the sanction of the King. In 1740, upon the accession of Maria Theresa to the throne of the Empire, the war with Germany was renewed; during which, the restless ambition of Charles's mother aimed at obtaining Milan, as well as Parma and Piacenza, for her youngest son. Philip and Elizabeth insisted on Naples lending her aid, and peace was only re-established at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

Meantime the course of reforms in Naples was interrupted; but as soon as Charles could turn his attention from the cares of war to those of peace, he made various improvements in the city of Naples, devoting large sums to the erection of palaces and theatres, and to the construction of roads in the vicinity of the metropolis. Though chiefly intended for the convenience of the sovereign, and to facilitate his enjoyments in the pleasures of the chase, the roads were beneficial to his people. Those, however, which were most wanted were neglected, and travelling in the provinces remote from the metropolis, the Calabrias and the Abruzzi, continued difficult and even dangerous. One of the greatest works commenced by Charles was the excavation of the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, which were accidentally discovered during his reign. An eruption of Vesuvius, in the year 79 of our era, had overwhelmed Herculaneum with mud,[1] and buried Pompeii in a shower of ashes and stones; the site of the cities had been forgotten, and it was only in 1738 that, while digging for wells, the sculptured marbles which were extracted raised a suspicion of their locality. The zeal displayed in the search for the lost cities was well rewarded by the discovery of antiquities which have enriched the Museum at Naples, and thrown light on the history

[1] The mud became consolidated into hard stone.

and manners of a past age. Two eruptions of Vesuvius took place at this time: in the first, the ashes rose from the mountain like a cloud in the form of a pine-tree, and were carried by the wind to a considerable distance, and, mingled with rain as they fell, became solid masses of stone, converting the whole country into a desert. The second eruption was accompanied by earthquakes, while towns, villages, rich soil, and cultivated land were covered with lava. The superstition of the people attributed these misfortunes to the disputes Tanucci and the King were carrying on with the Pope; but no sooner had the calamity ceased than their fears were allayed.

The reforms were not confined to ecclesiastical matters. Imbued with the spirit of the age, Tanucci commenced a warfare against feudal privileges. Charles deprived the barons of many of their feudal rights, diminishing their authority and influence, and rendering the sentences of judges in the baronial courts of judicature subject to appeal. The claims of the commons on certain lands was protected by the Crown, while the nobles were invited to Court, and retained by the King near his person, thus relieving the country from their presence.

About this time a new class began everywhere to attain political eminence. This class included the largest share of men of high intellect and cultivation throughout Europe. With the intention of depressing the power of the nobles, who showed a spirit of arrogance and independence alike distasteful to the monarch and to their inferiors in rank, Charles opened the gates of official power to professional men, and all belonging to the educated middle class of society; nor did he pause to consider that the flood which entered in to sweep away the corruption of a superannuated *aristocracy, might* in time endanger an equally superan-

nuated form of monarchy. The Third Estate (as the Commons were called in France) had been too long deprived of the influence and position to which their superior mental endowments justly entitled them; full of energy and youthful vigour, they received into their ranks all the intelligence which flowed to them from the classes above or below, and now, favoured by the sunshine of royalty, they felt and presumed upon their newly-acquired power. Active and ambitious spirits, rarely the most virtuous, aspired to all the functions of the State, and the character and interests of the government gradually became identified with that of a bureaucracy, little less corrupt than the nobles whom they succeeded. The law courts furnished councillors and ministers; sophistry and expediency took the place of violence; the improvements in the laws, which should have purified the system of administration, were nullified by the conduct of the men appointed to carry them into effect; and the head of the State, who believed himself supreme, proved, as usual, a tool in the hands of abler if not better men.

Philip v. of Spain had been succeeded by his eldest son, Ferdinand vi.; but the new sovereign dying shortly afterwards, without issue, left the throne vacant for his half-brother, Charles of Naples. As by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht the two crowns could not be united on the same head, Charles prepared to abdicate the lesser throne for that of Spain. His eldest son, Philip, was imbecile; and the second, Charles Antony, being heir to the Spanish crown, he declared his third, Ferdinand, a child of seven years of age, King of Naples. After appointing Bernardo Tanucci, together with seven of the principal nobles, Regents, Charles bade adieu to his son, and to the Neapolitan kingdom and people, and, accompanied by his Queen and the rest of his family, set sail for Spain.

CHAPTER II.

FERDINAND IV. OF NAPLES, III. OF SICILY.

1759-1799.

His Marriage—Dismissal of the Minister Tanucci—Sir John Acton—Earthquakes in Calabria—Colony of San Leucio—French Revolution—Persecution of liberals in Naples—War with France—Nelson in Naples—French Invasion of Naples—Flight of the King and Royal Family.

With the single exception of Tanucci, all the Regents appointed by Charles were old men; and as long as they received that external respect which was always paid them by the colleague who was their inferior by birth, they were willing to yield the reality of power into his hands. If Tanucci had hitherto proved himself a wise adviser to the King, and an able and patriotic statesman, the exercise of these virtues had not been at variance with the accomplishment of his ambitious projects. That ambition now tempted him to an act as unworthy of a wise as of a good man. Charles, who had first raised Tanucci to power, and who had ever been a kind friend to him, had given him the greatest proof of his confidence, by committing the infant Prince to his charge. But neither honour to the absent father, nor pity to a child deprived of his natural protectors, deterred the Regent from deliberately sacrificing the most sacred interests of the young King, in the hope of securing for himself permanence in power. His policy in this instance proved as short-sighted as that of *most men* who prefer expediency to virtue; and a few

years later Tanucci had cause to repent bitterly this betrayal of trust. Domenico Cattaneo, Prince of San Nicandro, had been appointed tutor to Ferdinand; and by the direction of Tanucci he kept the boy ignorant even of the first elements of knowledge. He hoped thus that, a child all his life, the king would be a submissive tool in the hands of his ministers. Ferdinand possessed a robust constitution, and had fair abilities, combined with an amiable disposition; but to the usual disadvantages attending the education of royalty, was in his case added, that at seven years of age, he was master of six millions of subjects, entirely at liberty to spend his time as it best pleased him, and responsible to neither parent nor guardian for his conduct. Where he showed a low taste, or a vicious inclination, his tutor and Tanucci took care to supply him with the means of gratification; and thus the precious days of his youth passed away in the exercise of athletic sports, or in vulgar amusements, among companions selected by himself for similarity of disposition or love of pleasure. Hunting, shooting, and fishing were the sports he loved best; and though such amusements are in themselves innocent, they degenerate into vices, when indulged in so passionately as to absorb the whole mind, to the neglect of every duty. As he grew into manhood, he showed as strong an aversion to the society of any person of literary accomplishment and refinement, as for books when a child.

Meantime, Tanucci held the reins, and supported by instructions sent him by Charles from Madrid, he imposed his own views and opinions on his unsuspecting but narrow-minded colleagues. It must be acknowledged, that the power he thus attained was used to good purpose. He continued his warfare against ecclesiastical domination,

and his reforms in the civil affairs of the kingdom. Several monasteries were suppressed, and tithes abolished, while bequests to religious foundations, away from the natural heirs, were forbidden. On the 12th January 1767, the minority of the King terminated, but no change took place in the government, the Regents becoming ministers. The first act attributed to Ferdinand, but in reality emanating from Tanucci, was the expulsion of the Jesuits from Naples. The germs of the approaching French Revolution had begun to make their appearance, though none could contemplate the formidable catastrophe which was to follow. Monarchs joined philosophers and philanthropists in denouncing the tyranny of the Church; and Joseph I. of Portugal set the first example, by the banishment of the Order of Loyola; Louis XV. of France followed; and three years later Charles of Spain exiled them from his kingdom, at the same time desiring his son Ferdinand to expel them from Naples. The command was readily obeyed, and in the night of the 3d November 1767, the houses of the Jesuits were searched, and without accusation or trial the friars were conveyed on board the shipping, and sent into poverty and exile. The violence of the measure could hardly be justified by its utility. In order to reconcile the people to what must have appeared to them an act of sacrilege, the property of the Jesuits, which the Government had appropriated, was converted to the best uses: for public schools, colleges, and asylums. It was vain for the Pope to protest. The whole of Catholic Europe was against him, and even Austria, the secular arm of the Papacy, declined to publish the act of censure against the perpetrators of this deed.

The alliance between Naples and Austria was at this time cemented by the marriage of Ferdinand with the

Archduchess Caroline. Tanucci could not anticipate a dangerous rival in the young and beautiful girl of sixteen, who came a foreigner into the kingdom. It was only when too late that he perceived his error. The daughter of Maria Theresa, endowed with talents of no mean order, with the haughtiness and pride of her race and training, she loved power, and claimed it as a right. United to a man like Ferdinand, ignorant and vulgar, she could find neither a congenial friend nor lover in her husband; nothing was therefore left to her but to seek the gratification of her ruling passion, and in the commencement of her reign, the generous ardour of youth, combined with a certain amount of vanity, prompted her to make even this a means to promote the happiness of the people whom she believed herself called upon by God to govern. To secure her influence over Ferdinand, she stooped to partake of his amusements, and on one occasion played the part of hostess to his favourite troops, when the King condescended to appear as a sutler.

A year after the marriage Caroline gave birth to a son and heir, and from that time, as stipulated in her marriage-contract, she claimed a seat in the Council of State. The Hapsburg queen had no sympathies with the Bourbons of Spain, the natural enemies of her family; and the minister who was supported solely by Spanish influence, became in her eyes a hateful rival. After a short struggle Tanucci had to succumb, and, dismissed from Court, he died in retirement, bitterly lamenting to the last the loss of his much cherished power: a just retribution for a great offence, to see the tool he had made for himself pass into the hands of an artful and ambitious woman! His forty-three years of administration had, however, been fraught with good for his country.

From the time of the banishment of the Jesuits, he had not ceased to labour for the educational institutions of the kingdom, while substituting lay for ecclesiastical influence. The University had undergone many reforms, and academies of science and literature had been altered and improved; the most competent men had obtained professorships, or had been chosen Fellows, and works of the first merit, and of European reputation, were given to the world, such as *I Saggi Politici* of Mario Pagano, and *La Scienza della Legislazione* of Gaetano Filangieri.* These works were intended to explain the nature of Society, how it ought to be constituted, and what are the rights of the subject and of the sovereign. The authors were rewarded, and regarded with favour at Court, where philosophy had become fashionable, and where the Queen, imitating the example of other sovereigns in Europe, patronized literature and science.

After the fall of Tanucci, the Queen changed the whole tenor of the policy hitherto pursued in Naples. Her first object was the improvement of the army; and as no Neapolitan was capable of taking the command, an Austrian general was appointed to head the land force; while Sir John Acton, an Englishman in the pay of the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, was persuaded to come to Naples, and accept the office of Minister of Marine. Acton was a cunning and ambitious man, and soon perceived his advantageous position beside an ignorant and weak king, and a vain and inexperienced woman. The ministers were feeble and superannuated, and Acton contrived to send his only rival at Court, the Prince of Caramanico, first as ambassador to Paris and London, and finally, as Viceroy to Sicily. From the Minister

[1] The father of the present General Filangieri.

of Marine he became the Minister of War, and afterwards obtained the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. He soon enjoyed the full confidence of both sovereigns, who heaped every honour upon his head, while, with equal ambition, and less virtue or ability than Tanucci, he acted as a mere soldier of fortune, covetous for himself, and indifferent to the fate of Naples, except so far as it affected his interests.

A great calamity visited the Neapolitan kingdom in the year 1783, when a violent earthquake overthrew and destroyed many cities and vast tracts of land.* On Wednesday the 5th February, about an hour past midday, the land of that part of Calabria which lies between the rivers Gallico and Métramo, from Mounts Jeio, Sagra, Caulone, and the shore, and from betwixt these rivers to the Tyrrhenean sea, was convulsed. The earthquake lasted a hundred seconds: it was felt as far as Otranto, Palermo, Lipari, and the other Æolian islands; only slightly in Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, and affected neither the city of Naples nor the Abruzzi. A hundred and nine cities and villages, with a population of a hundred and sixty-six thousand inhabitants, covered the plain; and in less than two minutes all these buildings fell, causing the deaths of thirty-two thousand human beings.

The soil of the Piana (or plain), composed of granite rock wherever the spurs of the mountains are prolonged, or of various earths brought down by the waters which descend from the Apennines, varies in consistency, power of resistance, weight, and form. Whatever, therefore, may have been the origin of the earthquake, whether volcanic, as stated by some authorities, or electric, according to others, the movement was in every direction;

* *See Colletta's History of Naples*, vol. i. p. 148. Constable, Edin. 1858.

vertical, oscillatory, horizontal, rotatory, and vibrating; and it was observed that the causes of destruction were often different, and produced opposite results. One half of a city or of a house sunk while the other was upraised; trees were swallowed by the earth to their very topmost branches, beside other trees which had been torn up by the roots and capsized; a mountain burst and fell to the right and left of its former site, while the summit disappeared, and was lost in the bottom of a newly-formed valley; some of the hills were seen to become valleys, while the sides of others became rugged and steep; the buildings upon them moving with the land, generally falling in ruins, but sometimes remaining uninjured, and the inhabitants not even disturbed in their sleep. The fissures in the ground in many places formed large gulfs, and soon afterwards mounds were thrown up; the waters, either gathered in hollow basins, or, escaping from their beds, changed their course and condition; rivers met and formed a lake, or expanded into marshes, or disappeared altogether, and burst out anew as rivers, flowing between new banks, and laying the most fertile fields bare and sterile. Nothing retained its ancient form. Every trace of towns, cities, and roads had vanished, so that the inhabitants wandered about in a state of stupefaction, as in a remote and desert region. So many works of man and nature, the labour of centuries, besides rivers or rocks, perhaps as ancient as the world, had been changed in a moment. The Piana was thus the centre of the first earthquake, but from the change in the whole surface of the ground here described, villages at a distance were sometimes more injured than those close at hand.

At midnight of the same day there was a second shock, *as violent, but* not so destructive as the first; for the

people, warned of the danger, and already houseless and without the means of shelter, were standing in the open air, stunned and desponding. The noble cities of Messina and Reggio, however, and all that part of Sicily called the Valdémone, suffered more from this second shock than from the first. Messina in that year, 1783, had not yet fully recovered from the damage caused by the earthquake of 1744, so that the present earthquake, by shaking buildings and land which had been already injured, overthrew everything, and thus new ruins were heaped upon the old. The shocks continued, until the land itself was subverted, and men and things which had been engulfed days before, were often again uncovered. The high chain of the Apennines, and the great mountains upon which are situated Nicotéra and Monteleone, resisted for a considerable time, and though cracks might be seen in some of the buildings, they were neither thrown down nor moved from their original sites, and the earth beneath them had not yet been convulsed. But on the 28th day of March of that same year, in the second hour of the night, there was heard a hollow rumbling noise, loud and prolonged; and soon afterwards a great movement of the earth was felt, in the space lying between the Capes Vaticano, Sùvero, Stilo, and Colonna, at least 1200 square miles, which was only the centre of the shock, for the concussion reached the most distant confines of Calabria Citra, and was perceptible throughout the kingdom and in Sicily. It lasted ninety seconds, and caused the deaths of upwards of two thousand human beings. Seventeen cities were entirely destroyed in the same manner as the hundred and nine cities of the Piana; twenty-one, besides, were partly laid in ruins and partly injured; more than a hundred *small villages* were submerged or tottering; and that

which was standing upright one day, was the next thrown down; the shocks continued with the same violence and destructive force for seven months, until August of that year, a time which seemed like eternity, because measured by seconds.[1]

In the beginning of the year 1784 the Emperor Joseph of Austria paid a visit to his sister, the Queen of Naples. Whilst there, he conversed with many of the Neapolitan philosophers and men of learning, and explained to them his projects of political reform. Ferdinand and Caroline returned the compliment by a journey to Vienna; and, on their return, imbued with new views of philanthropy and schemes of government, they amused themselves by forming a little model kingdom within their dominions, which they called the colony of San Leucio. To this they gave a code of laws and regulations composed by themselves; and so ignorant was the age of the fundamental principle of all good and secure governments (that they must emanate from the people, and not be a creation of the sovereign), that the fame of San Leucio spread through Europe, and Ferdinand and Caroline were praised and complimented for their good work. The startling news of the French Revolution first revealed to monarchs, and to the world, the true nature of these philanthropic projects. From childhood trained to believe it was theirs to give, not receive, and in what measure they pleased, the greater the gift the greater their merit, it was a new idea that a people should claim as a right what kings and queens had hitherto believed to be concessions on their part. Doctrines which had been agreeable to them, when presented as theories for their acceptance, and when ushered

[1] A more detailed description of this earthquake is to be found in Colletta's *History of Naples*, vol. i. p. 149.

in by words of flattery from men of genius, now appeared piratical invasions of the established rights of sovereigns. The frightful and sanguinary character of a revolution conducted by a people long demoralized by servitude and the example of cruelty, selfishness, and immorality in the upper classes of society, led even men of calm and liberal views to pause in their good wishes for its success; and it was only natural in the King and Queen of Naples to look with horror upon an event which not only disturbed the existing order of society, and endangered the personal safety of those occupying the place of monarchs, but led to the violent death of Louis the Sixteenth of France, and his Queen, the sister of Caroline. The desire for a republican form of government, which had become identified with the idea of liberty as opposed to despotism, appeared to the youth of Naples now about to be realized. The thought had been planted and nurtured by the writings of Neapolitans, and had been unconsciously encouraged by Caroline herself. The enthusiasm for liberty increased on the entrance of a French fleet into the bay, driven thither by storms, and young men ventured to express opinions offensive to the court. No sooner had the French fleet left when arrests took place, and that system of illegal seizures and persecutions commenced, which have never since ceased in Naples. Fear is always closely allied to cruelty, and when to fear is added offended pride and the desire of vengeance, mercy and justice are alike forgotten. The dungeons of St. Elmo, to which young men of the best families were hurried, are fifty feet beneath the surface of the ground, and here they were condemned without trial to solitary confinement in separate cells. The number of prisons were increased for political offenders, and a special tribunal, called the Junta of State,

was instituted for their trial. Judges of cruel and unsc pulous character were appointed, and this tribunal, v the agents of the police, arranged the whole proceedi of accusation and trial.

Meantime, the army was increased and every means defence were provided, while Ferdinand secretly conclu a treaty with England, and joined the confederation aga France. War began in 1793 by the siege of Toulon which Napoleon Bonaparte first distinguished himself commander of the artillery. The allies were forced retire; and the accounts brought home by the Neapoli troops, added to the terror of the government. Vari means were employed to raise money in this emergen the Queen spread a report that she had pawned her jew and that the King had subscribed largely from the p purse. She hoped, by the royal example, to encour her subjects to acts of generosity. But, unfortunately the success of her scheme, it was discovered to be a fr and that, instead of giving what was their own, the gov ment had been robbing the national banks. The indig tion of the people was expressed in no measured ter and, alarmed by this demonstration, various financial periments were tried to soothe the irritation, which however, already evaporated in empty words.

An eruption of Vesuvius took place at this time, cau great destruction and misery; but nothing could susp the proceedings of the Junta of State. Certain pr were declared to be had against twenty thousand pers and fifty thousand were held under suspicion. A mad and three youths of the ages of twenty-two, twenty, nineteen, were the first whose blood was shed on the scaff Such were the fear and horror the Court now inspired, *upon the death* of the Prince of Caramanico, Viceroy of Si

Sir John Acton, his rival, and the Queen's favourite, was accused of having administered to him poison. All desired that Acton should be displaced, and that the Chevalier De' Medici, a young nobleman of high family and reputation, should be appointed to succeed him. To obviate this danger Acton contrived to persuade the King and Queen that De' Medici was implicated in a pretended conspiracy. Several noblemen were seized at the same time, who were all retained in prison from 1795 to 1798, when, after narrowly escaping torture and death, they were released on a change of ministers. The Sicilians of Palermo, meantime, had made an attempt at insurrection, and the royal family becoming daily more alarmed for their personal safety, the body-guard was changed and their attendants dismissed; the palace presented a scene of miserable fear and suspicion.

The Neapolitan troops with the German armies, were giving proofs of valour and discipline in Lombardy, and Neapolitan ships were cruising along the coasts in company with the English fleet. But the successes of Bonaparte in Italy still further terrified the court of Naples, and induced Ferdinand to conclude a treaty with France, in 1796. Besides a million of francs spent in gifts and bribery before this treaty could be brought about, a secret condition obliged Naples to pay eight millions into the French treasury. In the spring of 1798, French ships of war hovering about the island of Sicily caused fresh alarm, which was only allayed by the news that Bonaparte had landed in Egypt. Undisguised rejoicings in Naples followed the news of the victory of Aboukir, and, on the arrival of Admiral Nelson and the English fleet in the bay, the King and Queen, in spite of their late treaty and alliance with France, went out to meet him, accompanied by the English ambassador, *Sir William* Hamilton. The triumph which

awaited Nelson in Naples was less because he came as the victor over a restless and ambitious people, who were disturbing the peace of Europe, than as the champion of kings and queens and the saviour of thrones.

The Queen was eager to renew the war with France, and her views were supported in the council by the representative of England. Preparations were made on a large scale, upon which the French stationed on the frontiers of Naples, and still nominally allies, demanded the cause of these warlike movements. They were told in reply, that the camps were only formed to train the new levies, and that Ferdinand still desired peace; but a few days later a manifesto of the King of Naples appeared, declaring his intention to march into the Papal States and replace the Pontiff, who had been driven from his dominions by the French. The consequence of this treacherous as well as imprudent act was, that the French troops immediately crossed the Tronto, and before many weeks had elapsed, they were in full march for the capital; whither Ferdinand, who had been with the camp, escaped in disguise. While the King and army were in full flight, the people rose *en masse*, and commenced a guerilla warfare against the foreign invaders; the French were astounded at the resistance they encountered from a people defending their hearths and homes, after having witnessed the pusillanimity of their disciplined troops; but the fortresses had been treacherously surrendered, and every hour brought the invaders nearer the capital. Still, had the King shown a spark of courage or patriotism, he might have saved his crown; but on the morning of the 21st December, ships were seen weighing anchor in the Bay; and the Neapolitans were informed that Ferdinand and *the Royal Family* were on board, and on their way to

Sicily. The vessel which conveyed them away was that of Admiral Nelson, and, overtaken by a storm, they with difficulty reached the port of Palermo under the escort of the Neapolitan Admiral Caràcciolo, who would not leave the King until he was placed in safety. On the 23d January 1799, General Championnet took possession of Naples, and proclaimed the Parthenopean Republic.

CHAPTER III.

THE PARTHENOPEAN REPUBLIC.

1799.

Championnet in Naples—His recall—Macdonald takes his place—Insurrections of the Bourbonists—Cardinal Ruffo—His Victories—Capitulation of Naples—Violation of the Treaty by the King—End of the Republic.

THE hatred which foreign invaders must always inspire, was in this case mitigated by an impression, that the French came as liberators from a frightful tyranny, under which no man of enlightened opinions could feel secure from imprisonment or the scaffold. Theorists, imbued with French republican ideas, as well as the most virtuous and able men joined the multitude who had been abandoned by their king, in welcoming the French, and auguring the commencement of a happier era. General Championnet immediately instituted a provisional government, composed of some of the most eminent men in Naples, one of whose first acts, in imitation of France, was to change the territorial divisions of the country into departments and cantons in place of provinces. Entails and feudal privileges were finally abolished; the royal hunting-grounds, which had been the source of many oppressive enactments, were destroyed, monasteries were suppressed, and bishoprics reduced; titles of nobility ceased, and ancient customs as well as names were changed. But all did not run smooth for the new government, as financial difficulties *presented themselves*, the necessary consequence of a time

of disorder; the King had carried with him to Sicily as much of the treasure belonging to the kingdom as he could lay his hands on; and General Championnet now imposed an enormous subsidy on the city to defray the expenses of the war. While the Neapolitans were thus threatened with famine, young and presumptuous orators went about speechifying, and trying to persuade the people that the advantages gained were well worth their cost. But the majority already felt the pangs of hunger and poverty, but had not yet experienced the pleasure promised them in their newly-acquired freedom. General Championnet was only beginning to see his error in having thus alienated the hearts of the Neapolitans, and had begun to recover their good graces by opposing some arbitrary decrees of the French Directory, when he was suddenly recalled, and General Macdonald, a man of harsh temper, was appointed in his place.

The agents of the King meantime were not idle, and fomented disturbances in the country. Former retainers of the barons or of the sovereign, now unemployed, roamed about the provinces, or, when formed into bands, infested the roads under the pretext of espousing the royal cause. Men, notorious for past crimes, or for their unscrupulous lives, placed themselves at their head: the names of Pronio, Rodio, and Fra Diavolo soon inspired horror from their acts of relentless and savage cruelty; for the deeds recorded of them hardly appear human. Yet it was to such low wretches that the haughty Queen stooped to entreat for aid in the recovery of a kingdom; she even addressed them in letters as friends, and had secret interviews with them in a room of the palace of Palermo, which had obtained the name of the Dark Chamber. The southernmost part of the kingdom swarmed with the ad-

herents of the Bourbonists; no sooner was Ferdinand assured of this fact, than he permitted one of his most devoted followers, Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo, to land in Calabria, and rouse the people to arms. Ruffo was ignorant, cunning, and corrupt. He had once occupied a high post under the Papal government; but he had been dismissed upon the discovery of peculations and malpractices. He was afterwards restored to favour; but fled from Rome upon the entrance of the French, seeking shelter in Naples, and thence passed into Sicily. Landing on the shores of Calabria in 1799, he was soon joined by the populace, who hastened in disorderly numbers to rally round the royal standard. All who presented themselves were accepted, and the followers of Ruffo, though calling themselves the army of the Holy Faith, proved in reality nothing more than an undisciplined rabble. The hope of plunder could alone keep them united. Cotrone, the first city which offered any resistance, was delivered over to sack and pillage for two days; and Catanzaro was only spared a similar fate on the payment of twelve thousand ducats. Meantime the French and Republicans sent troops to encounter them, led by General Duhesme, and by Ettore Caraffa, Count of Ruvo, a young and brave nobleman of ancient family, whose courage and ferocity might find a parallel in the Highland chieftains of the last century. He had escaped from the prisons of Ferdinand and Caroline in 1796, and was now followed into battle by twelve hundred Neapolitans, and expected reinforcements from the people flying before Cardinal Ruffo. Duhesme and Caraffa were not slow in vying with the cruelty of Ruffo; three thousand of the inhabitants of the town of Sanseverino were put to the sword by Duhesme, and *Andria and Trani* (the former a fief belonging to Caraffa)

were taken after obstinate resistance and burnt to the ground. It mattered little what side the unhappy people embraced; all who did not themselves become the butchers of their fellow-countrymen, were equally exposed to the loss of life and property. Ruffo's lawless bands committed the greatest ravages, because they were composed of desperate characters and ruffians wholly without discipline, and whose deeds of blood were consecrated by the blessing of the Church. The English allies of Ferdinand and Caroline lent their aid in ships, and landed troops on the shore near Castellamare; but Macdonald himself went to their encounter with a large detachment of French, and they fled in disordered haste by the way they came. Macdonald now attempted to restore order and confidence in the city of Naples, and might have succeeded had he not received his recall. Accordingly, after informing the Neapolitans that the French Directory thought it advisable to withdraw their protection and leave them to themselves, he retired with his forces, and the Provisional Government of the Neapolitan Republic took the reins into their own hands.

They began by increasing the army, and appointed Generals Spano and Wirtz to the supreme command. The Government had not only to provide against the dangers of war, but also of conspiracy within the city. There were no means too base, no act too nefarious, of which the Queen was not capable. Her secret agents were busily at work in Naples. One of the most alarming conspiracies was that which bore the name of Baker, from one of the chief conspirators. The houses of many of the most prominent persons were marked for destruction, while papers were secretly distributed to those whose lives were to be spared. One of these papers fell into the hands of a young woman of the name of Luigia Sanfelice, who carried it to the

magistrates, thus accidentally leading to the discovery of the whole conspiracy. A few months later she paid with her life, for having betrayed this infernal plot of royalty. The Cardinal was now approaching the city with rapid strides. The fleets of France and Spain had promised their support to the Provisional Government of Naples; but Russian, Portuguese, Turkish, Sicilian, and English ships were hovering about to prevent the entrance of the allies into the bay. The city was but feebly prepared for defence, provisions scarce, and the treasury empty. The fighting had already commenced outside the gates, and when at length all hope of succour from friendly Powers failed, the Government opened negotiations with Ruffo.

The conditions having been agreed upon with the Cardinal, who acted as Regent, the war was declared to be at an end, and a free pardon proclaimed, while those who were dissatisfied with the restoration of the monarchy were allowed to depart. Numbers had already gone on board the ships in the harbour, which were to convey them from Naples, when the English Admiral Nelson sailed with his fleet into the bay, bearing a message from Ferdinand and Caroline to the effect, that "Kings do not treat with subjects; that the acts of the royal lieutenant had been an abuse of his powers, and were therefore null and void, and that it was the intention of Ferdinand to exercise his full and royal authority in dealing with the rebels."[1] It was vain for Ruffo to remonstrate, and declare that by cancelling the treaty, and seizing on the persons of defenceless men, who had yielded, confiding in his honour, he was compromised. Royalty, even when represented by a man as vulgar and as ignorant as Ferdinand, was obeyed by Nelson, as if its decrees emanated from a divine source;

[1] *Colletta's History of Naples*, vol. i. p. 284.

to this, had been added the haughty dictates of the beautiful and unscrupulous Queen, with the blandishments of Lady Hamilton, the wife of the English ambassador, a woman of low birth and character, though the intimate friend of Caroline. Paid for her services in gold, told down to her on Nelson's ship, Lady Hamilton yet had beauty and genius enough to make the fascination she exercised over him an excuse to some, for the weakness, the treachery, and the crimes of the man, who, for acts more worthy of his name and reputation, has been upheld as England's hero.

CHAPTER IV.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF FERDINAND.

1799-1815.

King Ferdinand resumes the throne—Massacres — Executions — Caràcciolo and Nelson—Expedition against Rome—Bonaparte in Italy—Battle of Marengo —Birth of Ferdinand, son of Francis Duke of Calabria—Peace of Amiens—War—French conquests in Germany—Arrival of French in Naples—Second flight of the King and Royal Family.

We must now enter upon one of the darkest pages in the history of the Bourbons of Naples, which is unfortunately associated with that of our countryman, Nelson, their accomplice in a great crime. Caràcciolo, the admiral of the Neapolitan fleet, who had escorted Nelson's ship with the King on board, in his flight to Sicily, had returned to Naples, and after the establishment of the Republic had still continued to act under the flag of his country. Renowned as an able officer, and having served the King thirty-five years, he was also respected as an honourable and upright man; he had long been personally known to Nelson, who now demanded him of Cardinal Ruffo, and it was at first naturally supposed that Lord Nelson was anxious to save the life of a brave comrade in arms; but no sooner was Caràcciolo in his hands, than he summoned a court-martial of Neapolitan officers to sit in judgment upon him. Having heard the accusations and *the defence of* the prisoner, his judges considered it right

to grant his request, that the documents and proofs of his innocence should be examined; but when Nelson was informed of their resolution, he wrote down "further delays are unnecessary," and sent this message to the court then sitting, who immediately condemned Caràcciolo to perpetual imprisonment: Nelson was still dissatisfied, and on receiving notice of the sentence, ordered that "death" should be substituted for perpetual imprisonment. His order was obeyed, and Nelson proceeded to take the final execution upon himself. Caràcciolo was conducted in chains to the Neapolitan frigate Minerva, where he was hung at the yard-arm like a common malefactor; and Captain Thomas Hardy, commander of Nelson's vessel, arranged the weights to be attached to the body when it was sunk in the sea. They did not, however, prove sufficient, and a few days later its re-appearance to the conscience-stricken Ferdinand, was for the hour an object of superstitious terror. In the city, the populace committed every excess, for there was none there to restrain them; while those who should have protected the inhabitants, were occupied filling the dungeons and cells of the fortresses with men, whose genius and virtue would have made them an honour to any country or age.

The King, who had arrived in the bay, first issued a proclamation of pardon to the lazzaroni who were pillaging the city, and next annulled the municipal institutions of Naples, their rights and privileges. The Junta of State was restored, and all declared liable to the punishment of death who had fought against the king's troops under Ruffo, or who had assisted or been present when the tree of liberty had been raised, or the royal effigies and English standards burnt and destroyed. At least forty thousand *Neapolitans were thus* threatened with death, and a still

greater number with exile. Royal Commissaries were sent into the provinces, "*to purge the kingdom of the enemies of the throne and of the altar.*" The prisons of Naples alone contained thirty thousand political prisoners, crammed into the subterranean vaults of the castles, and other unwholesome places,—denied the use of a bed, chair, or light, as well as of eating and drinking utensils, maltreated by the harsh jailers who were placed over them, and who added to the torments of their chains, by hunger, thirst, and blows. General Massa, who had commanded the Republican forces, and Eleanora Pimentel, a poetess and lady of high birth and genius, who had taken a prominent part during the late government, were the first to be hung on the gallows. The Prince Torella, an old man and invalid, the Marquis Corleto, the advocate Poerio, then a young man, and afterwards the father of Carlo Poerio, who has worthily followed in his steps, with several others, were condemned by the King to perpetual imprisonment. They were conveyed to the island of Favignana off the coast of Sicily, and there confined in a dungeon sunk below the sea, where the rays of the sun never penetrate, and where a dim light only pervades the moist atmosphere. The trials were conducted with the harshness and injustice which might be expected from what had already occurred. Where legal proof of guilt was wanting, cunning was employed to make the prisoners criminate themselves; Ferdinand and Caroline were thirsting for vengeance, which could only be satiated with blood; and the judges were well aware, that the surest way to their favour was to increase the number of executions. Francesco Conforti, an accomplished man of letters; Ettore Caraffa, who had been *betrayed* like the rest into the hands of the enemy; Niccolo *Fiorentino*, a learned mathematician and lawyer; Mario

Pagano, one of the purest as well as greatest men of his age, Domenico Cirillo, formerly physician to the King, with about three hundred of the best men of the country, noble and plebeian, perished on the scaffold. Imprisonment and exile were reserved for such frivolous offences as having changed the fashion of the hair to what was considered a more republican form, because imitating that of ancient Greece and Rome, for having allowed the beard to grow, or even for having asked alms for the wounded and sick. Rewards meantime were lavished on Cardinal Ruffo and his ruffianly colleagues and followers, while Lord Nelson was made Duke of Bronte.

The Government began to consider the license and disorder within the city had endured long enough, and to get rid, therefore, of the army of the Holy Faith, they were sent, under the command of one of their former leaders to the siege of Rome, where German and Neapolitan troops of the line were already engaged. The declining fortunes of France soon obliged the French garrison to withdraw, and Neapolitans took possession of the sacred city. But the year 1800 ushered in better hopes for France; Bonaparte's name and genius were spreading terror throughout Europe; a new army was assembling at Dijon, and French troops appeared in Savoy and on the Rhine. The mad course of vengeance pursued by the Neapolitan Government had meantime alienated the hearts of the people, as all, except the lowest, trembled for the safety of their lives and property. Ferdinand and Caroline now vainly endeavoured to retrieve their false steps; the repentance induced by fear, or motives of expediency, is rarely successful in purchasing reconciliation between a sovereign and his subjects; and the general amnesty proclaimed after so many had fallen victims on the scaffold,

and at a moment when danger once again menaced the throne, only gave men time to reflect on their injuries. Three thousand persons had fled the country, four thousand had been sent into exile; and even after seven thousand had been released from prison, thousands more remained immured in the dungeons.

Financial difficulties added to the embarrassments as well as unpopularity of the King. Large sums were required for the support of the troops considered necessary to maintain order, and to be prepared for the defence of the country, in case of a second invasion; violence and injustice were therefore resorted to, in order to obtain the money which the people were unable or unwilling to pay, while fresh news was always arriving of the advance of the French armies led by Bonaparte in Italy. The account of his great victory at Marengo in June 1800, reached the Queen of Naples, when at Leghorn, on her way to Vienna to persuade her brother, the Emperor Francis, to add fresh territory to the Neapolitan dominions, and she now hastened on her way, her ambitious hopes converted into fear, lest they should lose the kingdom they already possessed. Her eldest son, Francis, the heir to the throne, had married the Archduchess Maria Clementina, and had thus strengthened the tie to Austria.

While the flame of war was thus kindled throughout Europe, Naples still vacillated between fear and rage. By tardy acts of aggression on the French troops, the Neapolitan Government irritated France, without rendering any assistance to Austria. The Peace of Amiens, however, in 1802, brought a temporary lull; and the King of Naples took advantage of this interim to restore the Junta of State, and recommence the trials for political offences,

burning all the records of their proceedings lest they should in future bear witness to their barbarity.

The Peace of Amiens was broken in 1804, and Germany became the principal theatre of war. On the 18th November 1805, Bonaparte entered Vienna; and soon afterwards the King of Naples, who had all along been playing fast and loose with Austria and France, according as he was alternately influenced by his inclinations or his fears, fell a prey to French vengeance. Caroline vainly strove to arouse the loyalty which her own cruelty and folly had weakened; the army of 1799 could not as readily be called into existence a second time; and while Fra Diavolo and his colleagues, instigated and flattered by the Queen, made vain efforts to collect their scattered followers in any formidable numbers, Ferdinand escaped in all haste to Palermo, leaving his son Francis, Regent. Caroline remained with her son, unwilling to abandon the hope of saving the kingdom; but, a month later, she too was obliged to fly, taking with her the remainder of the family, with the exception of the Princes Francis and Leopold, who retired into Calabria, there to offer a final resistance to the French. On the 14th February, the Council of Regency, which had been left in Naples, abandoned the city, and French squadrons entered Naples.

CHAPTER V.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE—JOACHIM MURAT.

1805-1815.

Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples—Laws—Battle of Maida—Brigands—Joseph is succeeded by Joachim Murat—Popularity of Caroline Murat—Reforms continued—King Joachim departs for the Russian campaign—Concludes an Alliance with Austria—Endeavours to save his kingdom—Fall of the French Empire—Joachim in Naples—Death of Caroline of Bourbon—Napoleon escapes from Elba—Joachim declares War against Austria—Is defeated—Obliged to escape from Naples—Treaty of Casalanza.

On the 15th February 1805, Joseph Bonaparte, the elder brother of Napoleon, arrived in Naples, and soon afterwards received the title of King of the Two Sicilies. The French General Reynier was sent into the south, from whence the two princes, Francis and Leopold, were soon obliged to fly; and the whole country, with the exception of three strongly fortified cities, Maratea, Amantea, and Scilla, was subdued. In the north, Gaeta still held out. English and Sicilian troops landed in Calabria, and a battle was fought on the coast, near Maida, where the French sustained a severe defeat, attended with considerable loss. Though Joseph was a man of mild character, the panic caused by this reverse, and the conspiracies which followed, in consequence of the encouragement it gave his enemies, induced him to employ spies, and to fill the prisons with persons arrested on mere *suspicion*, while the tribunals hardly sufficed to try the *number* of the accused. It appeared as if blood would

never cease to flow in Naples, and that fear made every ruler alike, in acts of tyranny and cruelty.

Various reforms in the civil administration were now introduced. Up to the period of the arrival of Joseph Bonaparte, twelve different codes of law existed in Naples, which were, in this reign, and in the succeeding, reduced to one; and all those modern improvements, which were the result of years of study and reflection by the greatest philosophers and statesmen of the past century, were added. The old system of trials for criminal offences, the use of torture, and all the corrupt practices of the past, were abolished; public discussion was allowed; and the officials who had acted as informers were dismissed. The feudal system and entails disappeared, and great financial reforms followed. Every encouragement was given to schools and colleges for both sexes. Unfortunately, time was required for these good measures to bear fruit; the country was still infested with brigands, and it was not until the most cruel and even treacherous means had been resorted to, that, during the following reign, they were finally extirpated. Men of this description were taken into the pay of the Bourbons, to excite disturbances in the kingdom, and even for assassination; and the life of Joseph was attempted by one who was discovered to have a letter written to him by Queen Caroline herself, urging him to the deed, and who wore on his arm a bracelet, which he affirmed to be made of her hair.

King Joseph had just proclaimed a constitution for Naples, when he was recalled to France by Napoleon, to assume the crown of Spain. That same month, July 1808, Joachim Murat, and his wife, Caroline Bonaparte, were proclaimed King and Queen of Naples. Murat made his entry into the city in September, amidst pageantry and rejoicings, *which* were even greater on the arrival of Caro-

line, a few weeks later. The fame of her gentle virtues, her wisdom, prudence, and beauty, had preceded her to Naples, besides which, she was the sister of Bonaparte, and the mother of four young children, who added to the interest excited by her charms of person and manner. Soon after their arrival, Joachim laid a plan for the seizure of the island of Capri, at that time guarded for the King of Sicily by English troops, under Colonel, afterwards Sir Hudson Lowe. General Colletta, an able engineer officer, who became in after years the historian of these events, headed the expedition. By the skill and valour displayed on this occasion by the Neapolitans, eager to gain the approbation of their soldier king, the island was soon taken, and the English and Sicilians driven out.

Murat continued the reforms commenced by Joseph. He began by relieving Calabria from the state of siege under which that province had hitherto suffered, by recalling those in exile and releasing political prisoners. He thus relieved the minds of the Neapolitans from fears, which had been created by the account of recent acts of cruelty perpetrated by him in Madrid, while his gallant bearing, and the stories of his brilliant achievements, insured for him a greater popularity, especially with the Neapolitan soldiers, than the milder characteristics of Joseph could ever have commanded. The new king used every art to raise the character and tone of the army, by forming regiments composed of gentlemen by birth and education, whereas soldiers had hitherto been drawn from the lowest and most degraded of the people; while all persons or things connected with a military life, received honours and distinction at Court, and thus the profession became fashionable; unfortunately for the success of his object, *Joachim diminished* its popularity, by obliging every Nea-

politan within a certain age to inscribe his name on a list for conscription, which occasioned dissatisfaction among the common people, and increased their dislike to enter the army. Joachim's able minister, Count Ricciardi, was meantime actively engaged in the work of civil reform, especially in the regulation of the finances.

The recent invasion of Spain by Napoleon Bonaparte was hostilely regarded throughout Europe, and a diversion was attempted in Germany, in the hope that by carrying the theatre of war thither from the south, his ruin would ensue. But Bonaparte's star was yet on the ascendant; and his victorious troops entered Vienna once again in 1809. From thence the French Emperor declared the Pope deprived of his temporal power, and Rome a free and imperial city. Joachim received orders to carry out this decree; but he had hardly despatched one of his ministers to commence the work, when an Anglo-Sicilian expedition appeared off the coast of Calabria, spreading alarm to the capital. While the King was making active preparations for resistance and defence, brigands and soldiers were landed near Reggio, and as the enemy's ships entered the Bay of Naples, Murat signalled to his little fleet to move forward to the attack. After a valiant combat of two hours, attended with great loss on the side of the Neapolitans, the fight was suspended. The Neapolitan admiral, however, soon recommenced, though only provided with two vessels. The King, the Queen, and all Naples, watched the battle from the shores; and such was the resolution of the Neapolitan sailors, that though they returned to port with their ships shattered in many places, and with torn sails, the enemy was so much exhausted as to be obliged to retreat, as soon as the batteries from the shore prepared to follow up the attack from the admiral. The expedition

which had sailed from Sicily confident of success, had to return without effecting anything, except dismantling the forts in the little islands of Procida and Ischia, where they had landed the troops for refreshment.

Joachim, relieved from any immediate fear of invasion, continued his labours for the increase and improvement of the army; he raised fresh regiments of infantry and cavalry, organized the corps of artillery and engineers, and regulated the commissariat department.

In 1809, the King of Naples was summoned to Paris to attend the family congress, in which it was decided that Napoleon should divorce Josephine, and marry the Austrian Archduchess Maria Theresa. Joachim alone had the courage to oppose a scheme which Eugene Beauharnois, Josephine's own son, was not ashamed to sanction by his consent. The consequence of this alliance was such as might have been foreseen: Austria lost a part of her ill-won prestige by wedding a Hapsburg princess with the man of yesterday; and Bonaparte, a self-created monarch, whose fame and great nessrested on his genius, which should have disdained to seek support in genealogy, made a rapid descent, from the hour in which he stooped to unite himself with a superannuated race.

Hardly had Joachim returned to Naples, before he meditated an attack on Sicily. Queen Caroline of Bourbon meantime began to chafe under the dictation of her English allies; and a letter of hers to Bonaparte, intercepted in Spain, confirmed the suspicions which had already been awakened, of a correspondence between the Queen of Sicily and the enemy. She is supposed to have made a secret treaty with Bonaparte, in which she had engaged to drive the English from Sicily with her own troops, provided *Naples were restored* to her by Napoleon; and on her

part she promised that Ferdinand should govern his kingdom by French laws, and as a confederate and dependant of France. The chief difficulty of the scheme was, that Ferdinand himself and Joachim were both to be kept ignorant of its existence.

Flattered and encouraged by Bonaparte, Joachim meantime prepared for an invasion of Sicily, which had been secretly determined should never take place. He assembled sixteen thousand French and Neapolitan soldiers on the coast opposite Messina, with three hundred ships of war and transport in the strait. Twelve thousand English and ten thousand Sicilians watched his movements from the other side, with a fleet of ships of the line, frigates, and smaller vessels lying at anchor within the harbour of Messina. Skirmishing frequently took place between the hostile parties, but every project of Murat for an attack on a larger scale, was frustrated by the French General Grenier, who acted according to instructions received from Napoleon. The equinoctial gales at length put an end to all hope of invading Sicily this year; but before abandoning the enterprise, the King sent an expedition, composed of Neapolitans alone, against Messina, but who, unsupported by the French troops, had to return to Calabria, leaving half their comrades in the hands of the Sicilians.

Disgusted at having been thwarted in his scheme by Grenier, Joachim became suspicious of his brother-in-law, and impatient to throw off the French yoke, so as to feel himself an independent sovereign. Early in the following year (1811) he ventured to hoist the Neapolitan standard instead of that of France, on the fortresses and shipping, and he proposed to dismiss the French from his kingdom. Invited to Paris to be present at the christening of Napo-

leon's son, Joachim complied, but before the ceremony had taken place, he hurried back to Naples, suddenly dismissed his French troops, and issued a decree, that, adhering to the letter of the Constitution which had been proclaimed by Joseph, and sworn to by himself, but which he now for the first time condescended to recognise, no foreigner could hold office in Naples. This rash step enraged Bonaparte, who retorted on his brother-in-law, by reminding him, that he himself was a Frenchman, and had only obtained his throne by French arms. The King, now roused to defiance, showed himself the more resolved to maintain his independence, and the quarrel between them threatening to become dangerous, the Queen interfered, and endeavoured to soothe the irritation of her husband. Though usually successful, she now only drew down the anger of Murat on her own head, and a considerable time elapsed before peace and harmony were restored within the palace. In the meantime, Joachim, between his affection for his wife and his brother-in-law, his desire for independence, and his offended dignity, suffered more than all. He finally yielded to Bonaparte; but his wounded pride was not so quickly healed, and the mortification which then rankled at his heart, led at a later period to his own misfortunes, and in the last hour of need lost Bonaparte a faithful and attached friend.

In 1812, Joachim was again summoned from Naples to take the field as a general of Napoleon. The French Emperor could not well dispense with so able an assistant as his gallant and energetic brother-in-law, and Murat's old attachment returned when Bonaparte required his aid. The campaign terminated with the disastrous retreat from Moscow, when, despairing of success, Joachim abandoned the army in the spring to Eugene Beauharnois, and re-

turned to Naples. Caroline, who had acted as Regent in the absence of her husband, received a letter from Bonaparte, heaping upon him every scornful and injurious epithet. Joachim felt the reproaches keenly, and undertook to reply in a letter, which though proud and resentful was dignified, and was accompanied by one from the Queen endeavouring to mitigate the anger of her brother. She fortunately succeeded, but secret intrigues in Naples were meantime preparing a plot which, if successful, must have for ever alienated Bonaparte from the King.

The idea of a united Italy, which for the last thirty years has been persisted in by that man of great schemes but unpractical means, Mazzini, and which now seems near its accomplishment, was first conceived at this time in the councils of Joachim. The greatest obstacles which presented themselves were the variety of characters in the population of the Italian States, and the dissensions which from time immemorial had existed between these petty principalities, and which had infected the subjects of every separate government in the Peninsula. This last obstacle had been in a great degree overcome by Napoleon, who had introduced a uniform code of laws throughout Italy, with one financial system, and one military organization. One head appeared to be the only thing now needed, and an influential party in Naples thought that this might be supplied in the person of Joachim Murat; for him there could be no family nor dynastic jealousies, he belonged to no party in Italy; he was a brave soldier, an experienced general, and had proved himself loyal as a sovereign, ruling more in the interest of his people than any other at that time reigning on the continent of Europe. Such a proposal would at any time have tempted Joachim's ambition, and it met him now, burning to revenge the in-

sults of Napoleon, and his intrigues with the Bourbon Caroline to deprive him of a throne, and when, therefore, he was more eager than ever, to shake off the dictation of France.

Joachim sent secretly to Lord William Bentinck (who had the command of the English forces in Sicily, and was aware of the intrigues of Caroline of Bourbon) to propose a conference with him in the island of Ponza. Bentinck readily assented, and secretly met Murat's plenipotentiary in the appointed place: He did not consider himself bound in honour to allies who had had the base ingratitude to conspire against the English, at a time when they were acting as their friends and protectors. The whole affair, therefore, was kept secret from Ferdinand and his queen. But, though consenting to Murat's plans, the English commander stipulated that Sicily should continue under the present sovereign, and that English soldiers should occupy the fortress of Gaeta; on which condition he promised to send twenty-five thousand English to aid Joachim in the conquest of Italy. So certain did he feel that the treaty would meet with the approbation of his government, that he offered at once to withdraw some of the garrisons from Sicily, Malta, and Gibraltar, and to send them to Naples, while a ship was immediately despatched to London to obtain the ratification.

The conduct of Ferdinand and Caroline had already given serious offence to England, while the King and Queen of Sicily considered themselves the aggrieved party. Shortly after their arrival in Sicily, Ferdinand and Caroline had been offended by the Parliament refusing to meet their demand for supplies, to maintain the war against Joachim; and somewhat later, Caroline of Bourbon, offended by the *interference* of their allies between them and their subjects,

began her intrigues with Napoleon to expel the English from Sicily and to recover the Neapolitan kingdom. But, on the discovery of her plots, Bentinck, while punishing all who were implicated with death, included some of the immediate followers of the Queen; and, while Caroline prepared for vengeance, the English commander resolved to change the whole policy of the Sicilian government, which had proved itself as treacherous to its allies as oppressive to its subjects. He succeeded in his project, and, in 1812, Ferdinand was forced to grant a constitution to Sicily, framed, in accordance with the wishes of the Sicilian people, as nearly to resemble that of England, as the circumstances would allow. The distrust which the English Government had from this time entertained towards Ferdinand and Caroline, made Bentinck the more ready to listen to the proposals of Murat, and made him sure of receiving their sanction.

But there was a third person from whom the whole affair had been concealed, and whose counteracting influence might be feared more even than that of Caroline of Bourbon; that person was her rival, Caroline Murat. Never were women more opposite in character than these two queens. Alike in beauty, talent, and ambition, the first was bold though cowardly, cruel, and treacherous, while stooping to the lowest associates and to the greatest crimes to compass her ends: the second, more royal in nature than most women who are born and trained to royalty, with the fearless courage of a Bonaparte, had the skill to attain her object without soiling her fair name. Ever watchful over her weak but amiable husband, she now suspected a secret intrigue, and, in the hope of counteracting it, persuaded her brother to invite Murat to the peace conference at Dresden. When Joachim, therefore, embarrassed by his promises to Bentinck, and vacillating be-

tween his ambition and his old attachment to Bonaparte, still hesitated, Caroline urged his compliance. Overcome by her importunities, Joachim confessed what he had done, when the Queen, prudently avoiding every appearance of resentment or even disapprobation, only the more strongly urged his duty to join the congress at Dresden, while proposing that she herself, as regent, should conclude the treaty with Bentinck. Joachim, satisfied with this arrangement, departed, and, when the ship arrived in Sicily bearing the consent of England to the treaty, Murat was already on his way to join Bonaparte. The fortunes of the French Emperor were, however, fast declining; all Germany rose to drive the conqueror from their land, and Joachim, before returning to Naples, alarmed for his own safety, listened to proposals of an alliance with Austria. Bentinck, meantime, was carrying on a correspondence with the secret society in Naples, the members of which called themselves Carbonari or charcoal-burners. The origin of secret societies in Italy, which date from an early period, arose from the desire to expel strangers, and to resist the encroachments and invasions of the German emperors; but soon after the French occupation of Naples, some of the most ardent of the republican party retired into the mountains of Calabria, bearing with them a vehement hatred of all kings, whether native or foreign,—a hatred, which cannot surprise the reader of Neapolitan history. The Carbonari, in their initiative rites, vowed vengeance on the wolf for the lamb that had been slain; by the lamb, meaning Jesus Christ, and by the wolf, all kings and tyrants, as the enemies of Christ, who had been the most illustrious victim of tyranny; this form and the meaning of the vow had been handed *down from* the secret societies of the 11th and 12th

centuries. The Carbonari were rapidly spreading their tenets throughout the Neapolitan kingdom, and the English in Sicily had already made use of them to disturb the French dominion in Naples, when Lord William Bentinck endeavoured by their means to raise an insurrection against Murat. The discovery of this correspondence was followed by numerous executions and other severe punishments for all who were suspected to be members of the society; an impolitic act at a time when Joachim required the support of his people. In January 1814, he concluded a treaty with Austria, acknowledging her right to the north of Italy, while Austria equally recognised his dominion in the south; that same month he concluded an armistice with England, while, with a duplicity worse than folly, he wrote to Bonaparte, assuring him of his attachment and devotion, and that only political necessity had obliged him to form these alliances. This state of things could not continue long; his heart was really with Napoleon, whom he had offended by his selfish ingratitude, while his pride was mortified by the haughty tone Lord William Bentinck now assumed towards him. The Carbonari, instigated from Sicily, were rising in Calabria; and Bonaparte from Elba, assisted by his sister Pauline, carried on a correspondence with his old companion in arms. Meantime the Peace of Paris enabled travellers to visit Italy after an interval of ten years; and while a congress of princes was assembled at Vienna to decide the fate of the people of Europe, Murat and his Queen were receiving distinguished guests in Naples, English and German, and among them Caroline, Princess of Wales. In the midst of a fête given on this occasion, the news reached Naples of the death of the Queen of *Sicily in the Castle of* Hetzendorf, near Vienna. Her

death was so unexpected, that she had neither medical assistance, nor the comfort of receiving the last rites of the Catholic religion. She had come to Vienna to establish her claims in the Congress, and her death appears to have been hastened by the indiscretion of one of her attendants, who acquainted her with a speech of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, "That it was impossible to restore the butcher king (Ferdinand) to the throne of Naples, now that the interests of the people were to be considered." Though dying in the midst of a congress of kings, and of her own relations, none lamented her end; and even her nephew, Francis of Austria, forbade mourning, lest it should diminish the gaiety of the city, and of the foreign visitors who graced his court. Ferdinand consoled himself for her loss by marrying, two months later, a Sicilian lady, the widow of a Prince Partanna.

Napoleon's escape from Elba, in 1815, was neither unwelcome nor unexpected tidings in the Court of Naples. To prevent all suspicion of complicity, Joachim sent messengers the next day to the Courts of Austria and England, to assure them that he would remain faithful to his alliance. But the opportunity appeared to him propitious once more to attempt the conquest of Italy, and, in spite of the remonstrances of his Queen and ministers, Murat prepared for war. In March he openly declared war against Austria, annexing certain provinces in the Romagna to his dominions, and himself leading his army northwards, accompanied by Generals Carrascosa, William Pepe, Colletta, and Filangieri. After a hard-won victory over the Germans at St. Ambrosio on the Po, the Neapolitans entered Modena, but their first successes were doomed to be followed by a series of reverses and untoward *accidents, ending* in the battle of Macerata, where the

Neapolitans were totally routed, and obliged to retreat upon Naples. Stress of weather and desertions added to Murat's calamities, but his sanguine temper could not resign all hope. He trusted in the affection of the people whom his late severities towards the Carbonari had alienated, and who, like the vulgar in all nations, worship success, and even in the Neapolitan liberals, to whom, in spite of a comparatively good government, he had until this last moment denied the guarantee of a constitution. He now proclaimed the Constitution—two Chambers, a ministerial cabinet and council; but it came too late. An English fleet was in the Bay of Naples, and their commander threatened to bombard the city if the Regent did not deliver the ships and marine stores to his keeping. Caroline was anxious to stipulate for the safety of her family, who were at that time in Naples, and, contrary to the advice of those around her, she concluded terms with Commodore Campbell. She had up to this moment exerted herself in every way to save the kingdom; she had provided the army and fortresses with all that was required, and in the last emergency, she had sent off the guards of the palace to the assistance of the king. She had addressed the city militia with masculine courage, and calmed the fears of the people, while preserving order in a time of general consternation. She now sent her mother, Letitia Bonaparte, her uncle, Cardinal Fesch, and her sister, Pauline Borghese, on board the English ships, and having secured their escape, calmly discussed matters of State necessity with her Council. The Duke of Santa Teodora, who had accompanied her family to the ships, returned to inform her of the particulars of their departure, and, in his sympathy for the Queen, he was moved to *tears. Upon this* Caroline begged him to command him-

self, as she could not at that moment bear any scenes to excite feelings which it was her duty to repress.

Defeated on all sides, Joachim abandoned his army to General Carrascosa, and hastened to Naples, which he entered as a private individual. When he reached the palace he at once passed to the Queen's apartments, and having found her, he said calmly: "We are betrayed by fortune; all is lost." "Not all," she replied with dignity, "if we preserve our honour and our fortitude." Peace was concluded at Casalanza on the 20th May, in the presence of Lord Burghersh, between Generals Carrascosa and Colletta, for Naples, and Generals Bianchi and Neipperg, for Austria. The following conditions were agreed on: Peace; the fortress of Capua to be surrendered on the 21st, the city of Naples on the 23d; and afterwards the rest of the kingdom, with the exception of the strongholds of Gaeta, Pescara, and Ancona. Joachim left Naples *incognito* for Pozzuoli, and from thence sailed in a small vessel to Ischia, preparatory to his departure for France. Caroline embarked on board an English vessel, from whence she was obliged to see and hear the rejoicings at the restoration of the former dynasty, and soon afterwards set sail for Trieste, leaving her children to the care of the garrison in Gaeta.

At Murat's departure the kingdom was left in every way improved from the condition in which he had received it. The Code Napoléon had been substituted by him for the twelve legislative codes of past years; public discussion had taken the place of secret trial; a wise commercial code had been framed; the finances had been regulated; and it seemed as if only a long peace and stable government were needed to apply a remedy for the defects which still remained. Monasteries had been suppressed, fen-

dalism eradicated, and municipal councils were educating the people to self-government; but Joachim had denied them the guarantee of a constitution, and new dynasties, however well-intentioned, cannot expect to become old, upon the former system of despotism: they must advance with the tide of civilisation, and must themselves form one of the democratic institutions which belong to a mature age.

A desire for independence and self-government had begun to take root in Naples; for the last ten years had made a change in the character of the Neapolitan people, and in spite of the low standard of morality among the upper classes, and the sloth and sensuality of the lower, a spirit of freedom was unconsciously springing into existence, which could not long endure a government founded on privilege and exclusion.

CHAPTER VI.

RETURN OF FERDINAND—HE ASSUMES THE TITLE OF FERDINAND I. OF THE TWO SICILIES—HIS DEATH.

1815-1825.

Restoration of Ferdinand—Death of Joachim—The Plague visits Naples—Canosa, Minister of Police—Errors in the Government—The Revolution of Spain—Disturbances in the Neapolitan kingdom—Demand for a Constitution—The Constitutionalists enter Naples—The King takes the oath to the Constitution—Rebellion at Palermo—Opening of the Neapolitan Parliament—Congress at Laybach—The King joins the Congress—Ferdinand annuls the Constitution, and is restored by Austrian arms—Executions—Public floggings—Canosa—The King departs for the Congress of Verona—Secret articles—His return and death

The return of Napoleon from Elba had re-awakened the fears of the nations he had once conquered, and of monarchs who hardly felt secure on the thrones they had so lately recovered. It was not till the battle of Waterloo and Napoleon's final expulsion from Europe, that Ferdinand of Naples could rejoice in peace. Gaeta, which until that time had held out for the fallen king and hoped for his return, now surrendered, and the banner of Ferdinand was hoisted on every fortress within the kingdom. As Caroline was dead, there was no repetition of the frightful and sanguinary acts of vengeance, which had sullied the return of the Bourbons in 1799. Heavy debts had to be paid; but happily the œconomy of the French kings had left the *exchequer so* full that it was found adequate to meet the *enormous* demand; for Ferdinand had engaged to pay

Austria twenty-six millions of francs, as the price of the conquest of his kingdom, and had promised a gift of five millions of francs to Prince Eugene Beauharnois, late Viceroy of Northern Italy. Besides these sums he owed nine millions to influential members of the Congress, whose favour he had been obliged to purchase. The German army had to be supported, as well as rewards to be given to Sicilians and to those faithful adherents who had endured exile for his sake; besides which a surplus had to be secured for the King himself. But though such debts could be paid, without increasing the taxes or impoverishing the State, there were other causes at work which made property insecure. The men who surrounded the King were as destitute of honour as of honesty, and were not ashamed to commit frauds while occupying the highest and most confidential offices in the kingdom. The land assigned by the French kings for the endowment of the royal academy was set up for sale, and the Minister Tommasi purchased it at an almost nominal value, making so large a profit by this acquisition as nearly to double his private fortune. He, at that time, was Chancellor, Minister of Justice, and Minister of the Interior, and he made use of his power and authority in each of these capacities, to prevent all competitors coming forward for the purchase which he had determined to make his own. The Minister Medici, formerly the rival of Acton, was at the head of the finances; but parsimony, and his rare virtue of fidelity to his engagements, prevented the country suffering as much as it might otherwise have done, from the malpractices of his colleagues. In order to relieve the kingdom from the burden of foreign troops, he resolved to organize a native army. The task was one of no small difficulty; for while *some of those who had* belonged to Murat's army remained

faithful to the Neapolitan flag, indifferent what king reigned in Naples, others had deserted; and the Sicilian army, composed of various materials, continued unchanged; forming a heterogeneous union of Muratists and Bourbonists, differing in organization, discipline, and even uniform, producing jealousy and insubordination, while the generals appointed to introduce reforms in the army had either never seen service, or had lately suffered defeat, and therefore could not inspire respect. The civil administration was left nearly as it had been under Joachim, or the names alone were changed.

While Ferdinand was endeavouring to efface every recollection of the French kings, Murat still nourished hopes of recovering his late kingdom. After the battle of Waterloo, he had left France for Corsica, and, deceived by his lively imagination and sanguine temper, rather than by any false hopes held out to him, he embarked from thence for Naples, believing that as soon as he landed, he would be welcomed by an affectionate and faithful people. A tempest obliged him to land sooner than he intended upon the shore near Pizzo in Calabria. He proceeded with the small band of followers who had accompanied him from Corsica, to Monteleone, the capital of the province; but his arrival was unexpected; no one joined his banner, and, obliged to fly for his life before a small band of soldiers, he was at length taken prisoner. After insulting the fallen monarch in every way, they conveyed him back to Pizzo, where, however, his name and rank being recognised, he was treated with respect and kindness by Captain Stratti, the officer to whose charge he was committed.

No sooner did Ferdinand hear that his enemy was in *his power*, than, eager for his death, he instantly despatched *the Prince of* Canosa, a man already notorious as an in-

strument of tyranny, and capable of any enormity, with full powers, into Calabria. But such was the sanguine character of Joachim, that even now he did not lose hope, but believed it possible that Ferdinand would consent to yield Naples to him, if he resigned Sicily to the King. The fatal order for his execution arrived on the 12th October. It took the unhappy prisoner by surprise, and the first instant he gave way to tears; ashamed of this momentary weakness, he recovered his composure, and after writing a few lines to his wife and children, and joining in the prayers of a priest, who gratefully remembered past benefits at his hands, Murat went calmly to his death. He was led into a small court of the castle, and refusing to have his eyes bound, bade the soldiers avoid his face, and aim at his heart. Thus fell Joachim Murat, who to this day is remembered with pity and affection by the people, and regarded less as a man who selfishly endangered the lives of many for his own aggrandizement, than as one of their best kings who fell a victim to the cruel vengeance of one of their worst.

A visitation of the plague in 1815-1816, afflicted the kingdom of Naples for eight months; and that same year the great theatre of San Carlo was burnt to the ground, while fever and famine desolated the land; all which public calamities were attributed to the sin committed by the Government in the execution of Murat.

The King about this time appointed the Prince of Canosa Minister of Police. Canosa had continued in retirement until the age of thirty-five, when he was admitted into the Municipal Council. When the French army was at the gates of Naples in 1798, it was Canosa who declared the King had justly forfeited his throne, for having abandoned the kingdom; and he proposed to establish an oligarchy, which

being at the time impossible, only excited derision. Falling under the suspicion of the republican government, he was soon afterwards thrown into prison, and on the restoration of the monarchy he was sentenced to five more years' confinement. Grown wiser with age, he took care when the Court fled again in 1805, to offer his services to the Queen, and was accepted. From this time forth, Canosa became her principal agent in all her intrigues, and in the atrocious crimes which were perpetrated at her instigation, and by his orders. It was he who excited conspiracies in Naples, and sent Fra Diavolo and other brigands into the provinces, offering rewards to assassins, and letting galley-slaves loose upon the innocent inhabitants. After Lord William Bentinck had made Ferdinand grant a constitution to Sicily, there no longer existed any occasion for the services of the Prince, but the King promised, that if ever he should be restored to his kingdom, Canosa should be appointed head of the Police. This promise was fulfilled in 1816.

Secret societies, meantime, had spread in Naples. Where free speech and a free press are denied, men must find a vent for their feelings in secret associations. The Carbonari, who had been encouraged by the English in Sicily, during Murat's reign, were now becoming formidable to Ferdinand. Canosa resolved to counteract their influence, by the formation of another secret society, called the Calderari or Tinkers, who were bound by their vows to support despotism, and to rid the country of all Carbonari, Freemasons, Muratists, and Liberals. The society of the Calderari was composed of men who had been released from the galleys, with the remainder of the bands of brigands which had formerly infested the country. Thefts and assassinations became frequent everywhere. The Carbonari

when attacked, retaliated, the authorities were menaced, and all these disorders were traced to Canosa. The King, nevertheless, retained him in power; for though leading a life of excess and dissipation, the Prince was ostentatiously punctilious in his attendance upon the Church ceremonies, which satisfied Ferdinand, himself as superstitious and ignorant as the lowest of the populace. The ambassadors of Russia and Austria, however, at last persuaded him to remove a minister whose conduct was a stigma on monarchy.

The disputes in the army arising from the hatred between Bourbonists and Muratists, now threatened to destroy all discipline and organization. The King was personally attached to the Sicilian or Bourbonist party, though endeavouring to gain the Muratists, by bestowing on them honours and favours, and thus exciting the jealousy of his faithful partisans. General Nugent, an Irishman by birth, at that time serving in the Austrian army, had been appointed Commander-in-chief. Nugent encouraged Medici in a belief, too welcome to his parsimonious spirit, that the destiny of Naples hung solely on that of France, and that a large army was therefore a useless burden to the State; and though the contingent of 25,000 men promised to Austria in case of need, obliged the Neapolitan Government to maintain an armed force, Medici contrived to diminish the expense of its maintenance, by lowering the pay of the soldiers, and by stinting them in all that added to their comforts or luxuries; whence arose complaints and murmurs.

An apparently trivial change, in the year 1817, was full of important results. The King had hitherto been styled Ferdinand IV. of Naples and III. of Sicily, thus *making a distinction* between the two countries, which

acknowledged one sovereign, but claimed separate governments. This year the King assumed the title of Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies, as decreed at the Congress of Vienna: his eldest son was at the same time created Duke of Calabria. With the view of undermining the separate Sicilian Constitution of 1812, to which he had unwillingly given his consent, Ferdinand instituted a new council, for the administration of the communes, composed partly of Sicilians, partly of Neapolitans, under the control of the ministers; he likewise re-organized the Cabinet and Council of State; providing that the Government was to reside alternately at Naples and at Palermo. The Duke of Calabria was sent as Viceroy into Sicily; and cajolery, falsehood, and cunning were employed to soften the impending blow. Thus the taxes voted by the Parliament in 1815 were confirmed, and a declaration made, that without the vote of this body no further tax would be imposed upon the Sicilians; but the Parliament was not again convoked, the liberty of the press was restrained, and the people felt they had no security for the freedom which remained to them, and that they would soon be forced to resign their separate administration, and be merged in the centralized government at Naples.

As years passed on, Ferdinand began to be haunted with the fear of death. Anxious to make his peace with Heaven and Rome, he concluded a concordat with the Pope in 1818, by the terms of which treaty, the episcopal sees, which had been reduced to forty-three by the French kings, were increased to a hundred and ninety, and compensation was made for the Church property which had been sold during the late reigns, while that which had not yet been sold, was given back. As many of the monas*teries as was possible* were restored; the Church was again

allowed to make new acquisitions; the sovereign resigned the power of disposing of Church property; ecclesiastical tribunals were reinstated, and an appeal to Rome permitted; while bishops were empowered to stop the publication of any book they judged contrary to the doctrines of the Church.

In April 1816, Ferdinand's granddaughter, the Princess Caroline Ferdinanda, daughter of the Duke of Calabria, was united in marriage to the Duke de Berri, son of Charles x. of France. Two years later, Francis, Emperor of Austria, visited Naples; he was accompanied by Prince Metternich and other high personages. King Ferdinand celebrated this visit by lavishing titles and pensions on his favourites, and the dynastic league or close intimacy between Hapsburgs and Bourbons was strengthened, to the great peril of the rights and liberty of European nations.

About this time a panic was created by the King refusing payment to a State creditor, who had supplied provisions to King Joachim's army, on the pretext that "the object of this outlay had been to sustain an unjust war, to prevent the return of the lawful sovereign, and to maintain the military occupation." Such a precedent threatened numbers with ruin, for the question now arose, what would next be the fate of those who had supported the late Government by their advice and arms? The want of confidence thus created, was not confined to the mercantile houses of Naples.

In a spirit of petty vengeance, Ferdinand showed his hatred towards everything connected with the French kings, refusing to travel by the best road in the kingdom because made by them, and stopping the excavation at *Pompeii, because* it had been their favourite work. Names,

fashions, and colours were altered if they recalled the past, and yet the praises of those who had served under Joseph or Joachim were ever on the lips of the King and of his ministers. This falsehood failed to deceive, or only served to make the people aware, that while the nation belonged to the new era which had dawned on civilisation with the commencement of the French Revolution, their Government belonged to an age long past. The discontent was growing everywhere, especially in the army, where the system of recruiting was the same, except in name, with the conscription (the most unpopular measure under the French kings); but to this was now added prolongation of the time of service, and the introduction of flogging. Secret societies were increasing throughout the kingdom, and thus, in spite of a well-filled exchequer, and a mild government compared with that of 1799, another revolution was rapidly approaching, whose real origin was the absence of all guarantee or security for the observance of the laws, as well as of confidence in the sovereign, whose former atrocities and frauds had not been forgotten.

In 1820, the Spanish liberals rose against their king, Ferdinand VII., obliging him to swear to the Constitution of the Cortes; and this spark lighted the flame which found fresh fuel wherever the treachery of princes, and the advanced ideas of the people, had weakened the hands of Government. The greatest excitement prevailed among the Carbonari of Naples. The German troops had just left the kingdom by the advice of the parsimonious Finance Minister, Medici. The King was more afraid of Austria than of his own people, and dared not grant the Constitution, which could alone have satisfied them; but he hoped *to silence them* by increasing the Council called the Court *of Chancery;* the measure proved unsuccessful, and in

July the first step towards a revolution was made by two officers, Morelli and Silvati, who, with a hundred and twenty non-commissioned officers and privates, deserted from their regiment at Nola, and accompanied by a priest named Menichini and several Carbonari, took the road to Avellino. At every place they entered, they raised the cry "For God, the King, and the Constitution!" Their numbers swelled as they proceeded, and accounts of the formidable aspect this insurrection was assuming, reached the ears of the King and his ministers at Naples. General Nugent proposed to send General William Pepe to the rebellious province, but though occupying a high position, Pepe was not only a Muratist, but suspected by the Government as a liberal. His departure was therefore stopped; and General Carrascosa, who, though likewise a Muratist, was a staunch supporter of monarchy, was sent in his stead. Lieutenant-colonel De Concili, who was in command of the troops at Avellino, joined the insurgents, and before Carrascosa could reach the province, the garrison of the castle, the militia, and others were hastening in all directions to Monteforte, where they were encamped. Though troops were sent to repress the insurrection, want of union and harmony between the officers in command prevented all combined action, and meantime General William Pepe had secretly quitted Naples for Monteforte, where De Concili willingly yielded to him the chief command of the insurgent forces. The character of the movement could hardly be termed rebellious: it was more a nation demanding the restitution of rights of which it had been robbed. A deputation of Carbonari, and among them men of high birth and station, presented themselves in the palace, demanding an *interview with the minister*; where they, with some degree

of abruptness, and in a peremptory tone, desired that the King should immediately proclaim a constitution. The following edict accordingly appeared :—"To the nation of the Two Sicilies. The universal desire manifested by the people of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies in favour of a constitutional government has induced us to give our full consent and promise, and to publish the basis of a constitution within eight days' time. Until the publication of the constitution the existing laws shall remain in force," &c. "FERDINAND."

The edict was sent to the camp of Ferdinand at Monteforte, and the King, under the pretext that his age and infirmities incapacitated him from the cares of government, resigned the royal authority to his son, the Duke of Calabria, who, at least in cunning and unblushing falsehood, equalled, if he could not surpass, his father. Summoning a council of ministers in all haste, he published a second decree, promising that the constitution should be the same as that of Spain. The people, however, declared so important a document must receive the signature of the King; and, as soon as this demand was complied with, the city was filled with rejoicings, and all doubt and fear seemed to have vanished.

On the 9th July, General William Pepe led the army, the militia, and the Carbonari, in procession through the streets of Naples, passing beneath the balconies of the palace, where the royal family appeared decorated with the badge of the Carbonari—red, black, and blue ribbons, arranged as a star by the hands of the Duchess of Calabria herself. The Viceroy afterwards received General Pepe and conducted him to the King, who lay stretched *on a bed, feigning* illness. Pepe knelt down and kissed *his hand, while* Ferdinand spoke as follows: "General,

you have rendered me and the nation a great service, for which I again and again thank you and your followers. Use the power confided to you to complete the work you have begun in so peaceable a manner, that it does honour to the Neapolitans. I would have granted the Constitution earlier, had its utility and the general desire been sooner explained to me. I now thank God for having preserved me in my old age to enable me to confer so great a boon on my kingdom."

On the 13th July, Ferdinand, the ministers, and high personages of the court, met in the royal chapel in the presence of the people. The King ascended the steps of the altar, and laying his hand on the Bible, pronounced these words in a firm and loud voice: "I, Ferdinand of Bourbon, by the grace of God, and by the constitution of the Neapolitan monarchy, king under the name of Ferdinand I., sovereign of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, swear in the name of God and upon the Holy Evangelists, that I will defend and preserve" . . . . Here followed the basis of the Constitution, and he then added, "If I should in any way act contrary to my oath, or contrary to any article contained therein, may I cease to be obeyed, and may every act contrary to the same be considered null and void. May God aid and protect me as I thus act, and if I act otherwise, may He demand an account from me."

The form of the oath had been written, but, after reading it, the King raised his face towards heaven, and fixing his eyes on the cross, added these words:—"Omnipotent God, who with thine infinite power canst read the soul of man and the future, do thou, if I speak falsely, or intend to break my oath, in this moment direct the thunder of *thy vengeance on* my head."

The object of the revolution had been thus accomplished, and the new form of government appeared secure. The establishment of a free press was at first followed by abuses, but these soon disappeared, and the public papers became the vehicle for the diffusion of enlightened views and opinions. The triumph of General William Pepe and of the Carbonari (of which he, along with many officers of the army, was a member) seemed complete, and the numbers of the society daily increased. This soon, however, began to be a serious inconvenience, by affecting the discipline of the army; for, as the leaders in these secret meetings were often inferior officers or privates in the army, it was difficult to maintain due subordination. A desire to reward those who had taken part in the revolution of Monteforte by steps of promotion, likewise excited discontent and jealousy, which did not cease even when those who had been promoted resigned their advantages, and retired to their former subordinate position.

Another revolution was meanwhile brewing in Sicily, where the Spanish constitution established in Naples was far from welcome, and where the people loudly demanded the separate constitution granted them by Ferdinand, through English mediation, in 1812. This was followed by a cry for independence; while another party of Sicilian nobles, just arrived from Naples, advocated the constitution of Spain. Tumults and an insurrection in Palermo forced the Neapolitan governor, General Naselli, into ignominious flight; and the Neapolitans, as eager to repress Sicilian ideas of constitutional government as to enforce their own, hastened the preparations for an army to be sent to quell the revolt in Sicily. Meanwhile a Provisional Junta had *been established* at Palermo, and envoys were despatched *to Naples to* demand a separate constitution under the

same king. Evasive answers were returned, and finally, Ferdinand resolved on sending an effective force to Sicily, under the command of General Florestano Pepe (the brother of General William Pepe, and a man of humane and honourable character). He was ordered to inflict summary chastisement on the insurgents; but his conduct of this enterprise did not satisfy the Neapolitans, for, after vanquishing the Sicilians in several encounters, he hoped to spare further bloodshed by waiting patiently for the voluntary surrender of Palermo; and when this did not take place, he concluded a treaty of peace, by the terms of which a general assembly of the communes within the island was to be summoned to decide by a majority of votes, on the union or the separation of the Two Sicilies.

The King had opened the Neapolitan Parliament in October, upon which occasion the Viceroy read, from a paper he took from his father's hand, the limits of their powers, and Ferdinand's resolution to maintain the rights of the Constitution; he further expressed the gratitude of the Royal Family to General William Pepe, who resigned the command of the army, which had been conferred on him during the period of the disturbance; but even this temporary promotion above his seniors in the service had created great jealousy. The Parliament commenced business by restoring the ancient and classical names to the provinces, and, with an almost childish love of novelty, combined with a hatred of all that was associated with past tyranny and misgovernment, they resolved to change the whole social machine. The audience in the gallery gradually established their right to express approbation or disapprobation of their proceedings, and those errors ensued which must always occur in the probationary steps of a people unaccustomed to self-government, thus laying

them open to much unfair criticism. The police, that influential wheel in the State machinery of Naples, was at this time under the direction of a man named Borrelli, who, foreseeing that the present state of affairs might not be of long continuance, determined to ingratiate himself with the Royal Family and with the Ministry, by constantly inventing plots, which he took the merit of having discovered and crushed.

The news of the treaty between General Florestano Pepe and the Sicilians caused such an excitement in Naples, that the King was obliged to recall him, and General Colletta was sent in his place, who himself acknowledges, in his account of this period, that he did not, by his conduct, contradict the reputation for severity which preceded him. An Austrian force threatened to move on Sicily, and thus the Sicilians were silenced; but the yearning after independence and liberty, with the hatred of race toward their Neapolitan brethren, was strengthened by cruelty and injustice, and can never be extinguished until circumstances oblige both to unite in resistance to the common tyrant.

A severe retribution now awaited Naples. Russia, Austria, and Prussia, had already expressed their disapprobation of the new Government, and it was soon evident that this league of princes, supported by large armies, had resolved that the people of small though independent kingdoms shall not presume to regulate their own internal affairs, without the permission of the despotic masters of Europe. Where the strong combine, it is seldom to protect, but generally to oppress the weak; and those who might interfere to save, as rarely meddle in such cases, *except* on the stronger side. The Bourbons of France *could have little* sympathy with constitutional freedom, and

England was prudently silent, while Spain, Switzerland, the Low Countries, and Sweden, who recognised the Neapolitan Constitution, could hardly be depended on if a struggle for independence should prove imminent. The hostile kings met at Troppau, but the open manifestation of their hostility was suspended by motives of policy. Russia proposed to send an army to the aid of Austria in Italy, but Prussia, though likewise preparing for war, objected to an inroad of Cossacks, who must have passed through her territory. These large armaments at length roused the jealousy of France and England. The liberals throughout Europe had applauded the Neapolitan Revolution, and two Englishmen of distinction now proposed to raise four regiments of volunteers, while wealthy mercantile houses both in London and Paris were ready to grant loans to the exchequer in Naples. France offered her mediation with the Great Powers, but the Neapolitans refused her good offices, and proceeded with their reforms. As these reforms were based on the Constitution of Spain, they were secretly unpalatable to the King, who just then received letters from Troppau, graciously inviting him to join the Congress at Laybach, that, in common with the European potentates, he might assist in the settlement of the affairs of his own kingdom.

When this message was laid before the Parliament such an uproar followed, with cries of, "The Constitution of Spain, or Death!" that no discussion could take place that day. The city was equally agitated with the news, and the streets of Naples were soon crowded with armed people from the provinces. The following day the question was debated in Parliament, and it was decided that the Constitution should be maintained, but that Ferdinand should be allowed to depart for Laybach. The King lost no time

in taking advantage of this unwise permission, but when on board ship, repeated his assurances that he only went to Laybach to intercede for peace, and hoped to return to enjoy the affection of his subjects.

The Revolution in Naples had affected other parts of Italy. Rome and several of the petty States hoped to break the yoke of ages, but were insufficient of themselves for the task, while their tyrants were supported by Austrian armies, ready at any moment to hasten to their aid. The Constitutionalists of Naples had not yet learned the lesson that the only safety for any single State in the Peninsula, lies in the maintenance of the same principles and practice throughout Italy. They hoped to stand alone, and eager to avoid the character of propagandists, they refused all assistance to their Italian brethren. Piedmont indeed made an attempt to rise against her despotic sovereign in the name of constitutional liberty; she had been encouraged by the support of Charles Albert, Prince of Carignano, and heir-presumptive to the throne; but the Prince doubted the maturity of the scheme, and at the last moment withdrew his countenance, when the whole fell to the ground, leaving no trace, but in the numerous exiles, who wandered into Spain, England, and the United States, and in executions, and the prison of Spielberg, where Gonfalonieri, Silvio Pellico, and many bearing great and honoured names, were destined to suffer years of martyrdom.

On the 9th February, the Viceroy received letters from the King, advising his son, the Parliament, and people, to submit quietly to the fate which was impending over them. At the request of Ferdinand himself, an Austrian army, with a Russian army in reserve, was approaching Naples, to protect the King against his own subjects, and enforce obedience to the decrees of the Congress. But though

outwitted by Bourbon cunning, and threatened by two foreign armies, though hopeless of assistance from abroad, and as yet unprepared to resist so formidable an invasion, the Parliament and people did not despair, but resolved to fight rather than yield. He who from his seat in Parliament most boldly protested against this violence, was Baron Poerio, who had already, in 1799, suffered imprisonment in the dungeons of Favignana. He maintained that the concessions made by the King in July, had been voluntary; that while on board ship, before his departure for Laybach, he had repeated his promises, and that he had never complained of the force said to have been employed towards him. Poerio further denounced the illegality of foreign intervention as dangerous to the liberty of Europe, and gave his vote in favour of war. General William Pepe took the command of the militia, with the addition of seven thousand troops. Carrascosa assumed that of the army, and Colletta succeeded to the head of the War Department in the Cabinet. Unhappily for Naples, jealousies already subsisted between these three generals; and Colletta, who had known Pepe from a youth, and was his senior in the service, could not forgive his having been promoted above himself, after the revolution of July.

Before relating the events of this disastrous campaign, and the termination of so many sanguine hopes and wishes, it is as well to glance over the labours of the ministers and Parliament during the past eight months, in order to do justice to their endeavours, and sufficiently to appreciate the calamity which befel the nation in the loss of a liberty which promised, when ripened by time and experience, to have been productive of so much good. The Minister of Justice, Count Ricciardi, was the same who had distinguished himself by his abilities during the reigns of Joseph

and Joachim. He proposed that that part of the Constitution should be reformed which gave the Council of State the power of appointing the magistrates, and suggested that this function should belong to the minister. Such was the confidence placed in his rectitude, that this measure, though advantageous to himself, produced neither suspicion nor envy. He further moved for the trial by jury in criminal cases, and that the law should favour the accused. Many regulations were made for the improvement of the army; the home manufactures for arms, clothing, and ammunition were encouraged, and new laws instituted for the military schools, with new rules for promotion and pensions, while favouritism ceased, and merit received its just reward. Reforms, and an increase in the navy, were recommended to the attention of Parliament by the Chevalier de Thomasis, Minister of Marine. The feudal system in Sicily was abolished, by a decree of Parliament, and the administration of the communes and provinces was regulated anew, and confided to the municipal officers. Reforms in the finances were postponed to more peaceful times, which unfortunately were not so near as was then hoped.

Now that war had been declared, every effort was made by the Parliament to meet its exigencies, and none were more indefatigable in this work than Baron Poerio. But the Viceroy was still in Naples; and while affecting to support the Neapolitan Government in its present form, and issuing his commands to the army, as if he too disapproved of foreign intervention, he was really playing the people false, and expecting the return of the King. His treachery was unconsciously abetted by the lukewarm aid sent by the Minister of War, Colletta, to his rival, General Pepe; while Pepe, ill-provided with troops, and his raw

militia unprepared to meet the encounter of disciplined forces, was eager to fight, sanguine and hot-headed, though a true patriot, and too generous to suspect, even now, the double-dealing of those in power. Forty-three thousand Germans were assembled on the frontiers, while Ferdinand remained at Florence under German protection, waiting for German arms to restore him to the throne he should have justly forfeited. On the 7th March, the battle of Rieti took place, between Pepe and his volunteers and the well-disciplined numbers of the Austrian army. The young and inexperienced militia fought well during six hours against an army in every way their superior, and several times drove them back, until, finally, a superb regiment of Hungarian cavalry dashed in amongst them, when they gave way, and the panic and flight soon became general. Pepe in vain endeavoured to rally the fugitives, and accordingly retreated to Aquila, from whence he wrote his despatches, and on the 15th March reached Naples. He had here an interview with Colletta, who transmitted to him the order of the Viceroy to reorganize a corps-d'armée; but he concealed from him the fact of the Piedmontese revolution, news of which had just reached Naples. This might have raised the hopes of the Neapolitans, had they not been completely disheartened by the recent disaster at Rieti, and by the rapid advance of German troops into the kingdom. The Parliament drew up a submissive address to the King, which was sent to Ferdinand, accompanied by a letter from the Viceroy. The army had dispersed or had returned to their allegiance to the King, the fortresses had been surrendered into Austrian keeping, and the leaders of the revolution demanded their passports for America or Spain. Whilst want of harmony in the chiefs, and the universal panic, facilitated the conquest to the

Germans, the Austrian general and Ferdinand, alarmed by the outbreak in Piedmont, were eager to accelerate the termination of affairs at Naples. Neither threats nor force were spared, and the number of Neapolitans who wished to maintain the struggle, and felt ashamed of the moral cowardice displayed, was soon reduced to a few. Baron Poerio collected twenty-six of the members of the Parliament, which appeared to have melted away, and drew up the following resolution or protest, against the violation of the most sacred rights of a nation by the hands of foreigners:—

"After the publication of the social compact of the 7th July 1820, in virtue of which his Majesty was pleased to consent to the existing Constitution, the King through his august son, convoked the electoral colleges. Nominated by them, we received our writs according to the form prescribed by the same monarch. We have exercised our functions conformably with our powers, and with the oaths tendered by the King and by ourselves. But the presence of a foreign army in the kingdom obliges us to suspend our functions, and principally, because, according to the information received from his Royal Highness, the late disasters which have befallen our army render the removal of the Parliament impossible, as in any other place, being without the concurrence of the executive power, it could not work constitutionally. While announcing this unhappy circumstance, we protest against the violation of the nation's rights: we wish to preserve these rights and those of the King unimpaired; we invoke the wisdom of his Royal Highness and of his august father, and we commit the cause of the throne and of our national *independence* into the hands of God, who rules the *destinies of kings* and of the people."

After this protest, the parliamentary documents were conveyed into a place of safety, the deputies divided, and the hall was closed. On the 23d March 1821, the Austrians marched into Naples. The King still remained at Florence, and having dismissed the late Cabinet, consulted with the Prince of Canosa, whom he had again received into favour, on the treatment of his subjects. The sovereigns at Laybach advised clemency, but they might as soon have expected abstinence on the part of a hyæna to whom they had delivered its prey bound hand and foot. Canosa was displeased at the mention of mercy, and the King thirsted for vengeance. A list of offences was made out against all concerned in rebellion from 1793 to that hour, and every one who had manifested opposition to an absolute form of government, was doomed for death, prison, or exile. The form of a trial was to be set aside as too slow; and in its place the accused was to be acquitted or condemned at the arbitrament of the judge, appointed by the King. All the terms of past treaties with subjects were to be considered void, and all previous acts of pardon to be annulled. But before these resolutions could be carried into effect, a fresh revolution had broken out in Sicily, conducted by the late Commander of the troops there, General Rossaroll. The fear of failure and its consequences, however, prevented a general rising, and Rossaroll was obliged to make his escape into Spain, from whence he passed into England, and afterwards joined the Greeks in their struggle against the Turks. He died at Ægina, leaving three young sons, who had no sooner arrived at years of manhood, than they made another attempt for the liberation of their native land.

By a proclamation of the Police, Generals William Pepe and Rossaroll were condemned to a death from which they *had escaped.* A large reward was offered for the capture

of the leaders at Monteforte, and Juntas of Scrutiny were formed to examine into the actions and lives of every official in the State. Not a day passed without the sound of the bell tolling for an execution; and the arrival of the Prince of Canosa in Naples was announced by a gentleman belonging to the Carbonari being led on an ass through the streets and publicly scourged with a whip made of ropes and nails. Such brutality disgusted even the foreign soldiery, who, when it was repeated, refused to be present. Courts-martial carried on the work of blood in the provinces. The provinces of Avellino and Apulia were most severely dealt with, while in the Abruzzi and the Terra di Lavoro the German commanders imprisoned so many of the inhabitants that a special magistrate was appointed to try them. For some time only persons of insignificant name and station were arrested, but Canosa now wrote to Ferdinand he could punish without incurring any risk, to which the King replied, "Punish." Generals Colletta, Pedrinelli, Colonna, Arcovito, and other officers of rank, with many deputies, and among them Baron Poerio, were seized and soon afterwards sent to Austrian prisons. Spies swarmed everywhere, which led to assassination, in order to get rid of them. War was declared against books, such as the Catechism, The Christian Doctrines, The Social Duties, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu, which were burnt in a public square, by the hand of the executioner, while so heavy a duty was laid on all foreign books that the booksellers suffered; and some time later, when Medici was Finance Minister, they appealed to him for a mitigation of this law, he replied, that the object of this tax was not financial, but to keep the people ignorant, *and that their* remonstrance only convinced him of its utility.

In the midst of the general terror, the King made a

magnificent entry into Naples, where he received flattering addresses from the magistrates and professors of the University, who dreaded the forfeiture of their office or perhaps of their property and lives. Immediately upon his return Ferdinand confided the care of public instruction to the Jesuits, and bestowed gifts on monasteries and on the religious orders. All who expressed latitudinarian opinions, were deprived of their employments, while those who were strict in their observance of the rites of the Church were sure of power and office. On the 30th May, the King issued a pardon for all, except the soldiers and Carbonari who had been engaged in the revolution at Monteforte. Those excluded were seized in one day, and what was called the trial of Monteforte commenced. Some petty attempts at insurrection and conspiracy followed in Sicily and throughout the Neapolitan kingdom. Thus, in the year 1822, eight hundred persons perished in these attempts, or by the hand of the executioner. An eruption of Vesuvius in October added to the general calamities, and frequent earthquakes in Calabria and Sicily swallowed up many of the inhabitants.

While surrounded by misery, the King and his family passed their time in amusements, celebrating birthdays and other fêtes, and receiving visits from foreign princes. The King of Prussia, the Duke of Lucca, the Duchess of Parma, widow of Bonaparte, all graced the Neapolitan Court with their presence. Ferdinand lavished titles and wealth on the Austrian officers in the kingdom, and created the Prince of Canosa a privy councillor with extended powers. The former minister, De' Medici, had always been hostile to Canosa, and was therefore out of favour, but financial embarrassment obliged the King to recall him, though he could only obtain the loan he required, by sacrificing

Canosa; as Baron Rothschild, the friend of Medici, refused all assistance until the former Minister of Finance was reinstated, and the favourite discarded. Canosa retired to Pisa, where he contracted a low marriage, and ended his days in Genoa, despised and shunned even by former friends and acquaintance.

De' Medici was inclined to adopt a milder course than his predecessor; but he soon perceived that to do so would be to forfeit all hope of regaining the confidence of the King. Many more persons were therefore deprived of their employments, were exiled, or condemned to horrible dungeons in the penal islands off Sicily and Naples. Morelli and Silvati, who had commenced the revolution of 1820, fell into the hands of the police, and underwent their trial with the rest of Monteforte. Thirty were condemned to die; but, at the instance of a lady intimate with the King's wife, and engaged to marry one of the prisoners, a reprieve was granted to all but Morelli and Silvati. Ferdinand's clemency permitted the survivors to linger out the remainder of their days in chains in the rock dungeons of San Stefano and Pantelleria, while numbers fled the country or were proscribed.

The King now proclaimed his intention of ruling Sicily by a separate administration from that of Naples. A more liberal form of government was introduced, though always under the control of the King, and of a council chosen by himself. But, as some may be reminded of similar concessions recently granted by Francis Joseph to Hungary, it may be as well to give the decree in the words copied from the historian Colletta:[1]—

That the Two Sicilies be governed separately, under the *empire of one king*; that they shall have their separate

[1] Vol. ii. p. 454.

taxes, finances, expenditure, criminal and civil judicature and offices; and that the citizens of one State shall not hold office in the other. (This separation, by fomenting the unhappy discord between the two people, entailed servitude on both in times of peace, and weakness and disasters in war.)

That the king should conduct the affairs of the kingdom in a Council of State, composed of at least twelve members, six of them councillors and six ministers.

That the laws or decrees, and ordinances in matters of government, should be discussed in an assembly composed of at least thirty councillors for the State of Naples and eighteen for that of Sicily, under the name of *Consulte*, to be convoked separately in Naples and Palermo.

That the government taxes shall be distributed in every province for every year, by a provincial council, which shall have the power of proposing any amendment in the administration of the public institutions or in those for charity.

That the communes shall administer their own affairs on a more liberal footing than before, by ordinances dictated by the king, after consulting with the Council of State.

The members of the above mentioned bodies, namely, the ministers, council of state, council of the *consulte*, and the provincial councils, to be *all chosen by the king, and removable at his pleasure.* The discussion to be ordered by the king; the vote of each body deliberative, the royal will free, and the ministers responsible to the king.

In 1822, Ferdinand was once more invited to meet a congress of the representatives of foreign sovereigns in Verona, where the ambasadors of Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, and England, with King Ferdinand of Naples, sat

in judgment on the fate of all the people in Europe. Half the result of the conference was made known by a published circular in 1823. The Secret Articles, from which England withdrew her name, were only learned subsequently by a copy, alleged to have been taken in 1848 from the original documents found in the Archives of Paris, and since published, without meeting with any contradiction, in America, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and Piedmont. They may serve as a warning to all nations to beware of the danger accruing to the liberty of the people in meetings of sovereigns and of their representatives, especially when not responsible for their acts to a Parliament.

Secret Articles of the Treaty of Verona, in addition to the Treaty of Vienna, 1822.

The undersigned, specially authorized to make some additions to the Treaty of the Holy Alliance, having exchanged their powers, agree to what follows :—

Art. 1. The high contracting parties, convinced that the system of representative government is equally inconsistent with monarchical principles, as is the doctrine of popular sovereignty with that of Divine right, pledge themselves mutually to each other, in the most solemn manner, to exert all their efforts to annihilate representative government in all countries of Europe in which it may exist, and to prevent its introduction in states where it is now unknown.

Art. 2. As it cannot be doubted that the liberty of the press constitutes the most powerful of the means employed by the pretended defenders of the rights of nations against the rights of princes, the high contracting parties reciprocally pledge their faith to adopt all measures proper for

its suppression, not only in their own dominions, but throughout the rest of Europe.

Art. 3. Convinced that the principles of religion contribute most powerfully to maintain nations in that state of passive obedience which they owe to their princes, the high contracting parties declare that it is their intention to sustain in their respective dominions such measures as the clergy may adopt for the strengthening of their interests, intimately associated as these are with the authority of princes. The high contracting powers offer, in addition, their common thanks to the Pope for all that he has already done for them, and solicit his continued co-operation with their views for the subjugation (*soumission*) of nations.

Art. 4. The high contracting parties, in confiding to France the charge of bringing them (viz., the nations) to order, engage to assist her in the undertaking, after the mode which appears least calculated to compromise them with their own people, and with the people of France. In consequence, they bind themselves to furnish a subsidy from their respective empires, to the amount of 20,000,000 francs. The same to date from the signature of this treaty until the close of the war.

Art. 5. In the view of establishing throughout the Peninsula (of Spain and Portugal) the order of things which existed prior to the revolution of Cadiz, and also to secure the full execution of the articles of this treaty, the high contracting parties exchange with each other their faith, that, until the accomplishment of the objects now expressed, and setting aside all other purposes of utility, and all other measures thereafter to be taken, they will, with the shortest possible delay, address instructions to all *the constituted authorities* within their own states, and to

all their agents in foreign countries, so that a perfect convexity may be established, for forwarding the accomplishment of the views set forth in this treaty.

Art. 6. This treaty shall be renewed, with such changes as altering circumstances may necessitate, either in a future congress or at the court of some one of the contracting parties.

Art. 7. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged at Paris, within the delay of six months.

Done at Verona, 22d November 1822.

Signed for Austria, METTERNICH.
France, CHATEAUBRIAND.
Prussia, BENSTEL.
Russia, NESSELRODE.

After the return of Ferdinand to Naples, the executions which had been suspended during his absence were renewed. But several deaths of distinguished persons occurring in 1824 again reminded the King that his own was fast approaching. Agitated with fears for the future, he now thought to atone for his crimes towards his subjects by redoubling his efforts to complete a church he had made a vow to Heaven to build while in Sicily. Towards Christmas he became unwell, and was unable to resume his favourite amusements of the theatre and the chase. On the 3d January 1825, after his game and prayers, he retired to sleep: he was in the habit of calling a servant about eight in the morning, but on the morning of the 4th, the clock struck and no sound followed; they waited patiently; those on guard in the next room declaring that they had heard the King cough twice at six that morning; time passed; they listened at the door, but heard nothing; *the attendants* and physicians, who were (as was customary

in that court) always present at the waking of the King, consulted together, and determined, as it was ten o'clock, to enter, though unsummoned. At every step their fears increased; the counterpane and sheets were tossed about, and the body of the King was so entangled in them that his struggle had evidently been long; one sheet was twisted round his head and under his pillow; his legs and arms were contorted; the mouth open, as if to call for aid or catch the breath of life, the face livid and black, and the eyes wide open, and with a terrible expression. The news spread in the palace; the family hastened to the room; other physicians were called in, and no further doubt nor hope remained; he had died of apoplexy, as was ascertained on opening the body.

Thus died Ferdinand, at seventy-six years of age, after a reign of sixty-five years. His death was proclaimed by the same edict which published the accession of his son Francis. It was at first supposed to be a stratagem of the police to discover the state of public feeling; but when the news was confirmed, some kissed the ground beneath the placard, and thanked God for the death of Ferdinand, as a termination of the general misery. All who thus expressed their joy were immediately arrested and punished, and the new king was proclaimed.

CHAPTER VII

REIGN OF FRANCIS I.

1825 1830.

State of the Finances—Persecution of the Liberals—Affair at Bosco—Marriage of Maria Christina with Ferdinand VII. of Spain—French Revolution—Death of Francis I.

FRANCIS I. succeeded to the throne of the Two Sicilies on the 4th January 1825, and some few of the liberals in Naples cherished the delusive hope, that freedom might yet be bestowed by a prince who had betrayed them and their cause, before he inherited his father's crown. Others, less sanguine, feared that a time of still greater suffering was at hand, and the lines of a young poet, predicting future woes to Naples, circulated among the people by means of the Capuchin friars, who, subsisting upon charity, and in constant communication with the lower orders, were able to carry them clandestinely from house to house.[1] The new king, feeble in character, yet fond of power, surpassed his father in the cruelty and cunning of his disposition, and while maintaining the Minister Medici near his person, he broke his own promises, and those of Ferdinand, by continuing to withhold the Constitution. The Emperor of Austria, eager to retain the influence with

[1] See *Narrazioni Storiche* di Piersilvestro Leopardi, pp. 25, 26.

the son he had exercised over the father, invited Francis to meet him at Milan; and the King of Naples accordingly, accompanied by his queen, joined the Emperor in Lombardy towards the middle of May. In the conferences between the sovereigns, it was agreed to reduce the Austrian forces in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, to 35,000 men, who were to continue there until May 1826, unless disturbances, or the incompetency of the Neapolitan army, should oblige Francis to request the prolongation of their stay until March 1827. The royal travellers returned to Naples in July.

The King's attention was first called to the state of the finances, which were heavily burdened by the maintenance of foreign troops. The revenue derived from Sicily, in 1825, had fallen short of the expenditure of that year; and to remedy this deficiency, Francis added to the taxes, while economizing in various branches of the administration. Still further to increase the income, he laid claim to the property of the Knights of Jerusalem, who, when expelled from Malta, had established their seat of government first at Messina, and afterwards at Catania. They had since been deprived of all their benefices except in Bohemia, the States of the Church, and the kingdom of the Sicilies; and this year they were informed by Francis, that as, by the consent of almost all the sovereigns of Europe, they had lost the dominion of the island of Malta, he now decreed that the Order should consider itself extinct; and had, in his Council of State, commanded the sequestration of such of their benefices as became vacant, and that they should abstain from creating any new knights without the royal permission, nor transfer benefices, without acquainting the King. The knights, after refusing to acknowledge the *legality of this decree*, demanded a refuge in the Pontifical

States, which was granted, and they accordingly removed to Rome in 1834.[1]

Towards the end of 1825, a few of the most violent and obscure of the Carbonari of Naples formed themselves into a secret society, by the name of the White Pilgrims, and corresponded with other societies in Syracuse and Catania, where the feeling of irritation against the Government prevailed even more strongly than on the Continent. The Sicilians had been deprived of most of their constitutional rights ever since the failure of the revolution of 1820, and their Neapolitan fellow-subjects had conspired with the King to destroy every vestige of self-government within the island, and to centralize the whole government in Naples. The claim of Naples had been supported by the Divine right of kings, which had been confirmed in the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, and by the democratic Constitution of Naples in 1820. The political intrigues of the Society of the White Pilgrims having been detected by the police, some of their number were tried and condemned by a military commission, early in 1826. But these attempts against the Government were not sufficiently formidable to prevent the reduction of the Austrian contingent, and fourteen hundred of them left the kingdom in the spring.

The King, anxious to comply with the wishes of Austria, urged his ministers to use every effort to restore order in the kingdom, by the suppression of the liberal party, and the harsh and oppressive measures of the late reign continued unabated under the present, while the persecution even became more systematic and savage. In September 1826, the public functionaries were enjoined "to favour in every *way the friends of the throne and of the altar*; to carry

[1] *Annali d'Italia*, Coppi.

on war to the death against all who, during the past vicissitudes of the kingdom, had, by deed or word, rebelled against the absolute government of the King;" and those officials who ventured to transgress these orders, were threatened with "*destitution, and to be themselves persecuted as the enemies of the King.*"[1] Corruption meantime pervaded every branch of the administration, and even spread to the higher classes of society. The Minister De' Medici, the Queen's ladies of the bedchamber, and a certain Viglia, groom of the chambers to King Francis, carried on a sale of public offices: Viglia, a man of low extraction, and so ignorant that he could neither read nor write, amassed great wealth by these means, and he even sold the office of Minister of Finance for a sum amounting to nearly thirty thousand ducats.

The following year, Nicolo Intonti, Minister of Police, ordered a list of suspected persons to be made in every province; but as the number on the list exceeded a hundred thousand, he abstained from further proceedings; only issuing a royal edict, commanding the gendarmes to consider themselves as sentinels to watch, and give notice, and that their indictment of any person whatsoever, should be accepted and implicitly believed in a court of justice.[2] In February 1827, the Austrian troops wholly evacuated the kingdom; but instead of being sent back to Austria, or dispersed throughout the Austrian dominions in Italy, they were detained on the line of the Po, ready to return to Naples, if requested by the King. The expense of their maintenance had reached seventy-four millions of ducats; and Francis, by a decree in the ensuing May, ordered an increase of the taxes to supply the deficiency caused by this heavy drain upon the exchequer; he, at the same

[1] *Narrazioni Storiche di Piersilvestro* Leopardi. p. 27, and Rivolgimenti d'Italia, Gualterio, vol. ii. p. 277.

[2] Ibid. p. 27.

time, incurred fresh expenses by the erection of a palace for the use of the government officers, and by continuing the road to Calabria; but these, as well as other public works, had at least the merit of utility.

The change of ministers in France,[1] which occurred in 1828, once more roused the hopes of the liberal party in the Two Sicilies, as well as in the rest of Europe. Though the Society of the Carbonari had been suppressed, many of the former members still continued to spread their opinions, and a few daring spirits in Naples and the neighbouring provinces of Salerno and Avellino, formed the nucleus of a conspiracy to raise a cry for the French Constitution; the leaders were three brothers of the name of Capezzoli, landed proprietors at Monte Forte, and at Bosco, a village in the district of Vallo in the Principato Citra. They had fought on the liberal side in 1820, and had been hunted by the agents of Government for six years, but escaping pursuit amidst the mountains, they had gained many followers, from a love of adventure, as well as from the vulgar admiration for the marvellous. In 1827, their courage and good fortune again saved them from the soldiers and gendarmes, but this attempt at insurrection failed, because the people, though exasperated by persecution and oppressive taxes, placed no confidence in such leaders. In 1828, however, De Luca, a patriotic curate in the village of Bosco, preached from the pulpit against the perjury, treachery, and bad faith of those in power; and at the conclusion of his sermon asked how

[1] In the autumn of 1827, the conservative ministers of Charles X. made a last effort to retain power, by dissolving the Parliament. Disturbances, followed by bloodshed, occurred during the new elections at Paris, and a letter appeared urging the Duke of Orleans to head the citizens. The ministers were obliged to resign, and in January 1828, a new cabinet was formed, which gave as little satisfaction as the former.—See Vaulabelle, Histoire des Deux Restaurations, *vol. vii. chap. i.*

long the country was to be disgraced by the presence of a foreign soldiery, or the people's patience to be abused, since they could (were they so disposed) regain their lost liberties. The flame of rebellion was quickly kindled, and broke out first at Salerno. The Capezzoli headed the revolt, and went about proclaiming the Constitution. The insurgents surprised the little fort of Palmiero, and burnt and pillaged the only town which resisted their progress. This first deed of violence appeared to have satisfied the vengeance of the people, for their leaders had neither the power to control them, nor the skill to keep their ardour alive. The King, though assured that the worst was over, sent Del Carretto, the inspector-general of the gendarmes, to the spot with a considerable detachment of his troops, and orders to use the utmost rigour in putting down the rebellion. Del Carretto had begun life as a liberal, and in 1820 had been the head of the staff, and one of the most ardent supporters of General William Pepe, in what he himself then termed "the best of causes;" this same man, now eager to propitiate the Government, exaggerated the dangers of revolution, and prepared to crush the insurrection with all the apparatus of war. He was accompanied by six thousand soldiers and a train of artillery, with which he advanced against the little town of Bosco. At the sight of the royal troops, the people believed they were betrayed, and fled. Bosco was deserted at his approach, but planting his artillery against the place, Del Carretto shortly levelled it with the ground. Men, women, and children, the innocent with the guilty, were thus left destitute and homeless, while the conqueror raised a column on the spot, to commemorate his deed. Many persons were seized and executed, and Del Carretto, assuring all of pardon who would

yield themselves prisoners, three hundred surrendered, and were rewarded by chains. Twenty-two (among whom were De Luca, and other priests) were first put to the torture and then executed at Salerno, and their heads stuck up on the high road. Fifteen were sent to the galleys for life, forty-three condemned to minor punishments, and others exiled. Many women were tortured, and among them, the wife of one of the leaders who had escaped. The province was placed under martial law. Eighty-five persons meantime were arrested in Naples and its neighbourhood, and reserved for trial until the beginning of the following year, when a council instituted for the examination of political offences, condemned seven to death, and thirty-nine to lesser punishments; while, as a reward for his conduct in this affair, Del Carretto was created a marquis, and raised to the rank of field-marshal. Meanwhile, Niccolo de Matteis, intendente of Cosenza, a former pupil of Canosa, was guilty of still greater cruelty and oppression, until the people over whom he ruled became so exasperated, that the Government was obliged to summon him to Naples to answer for his conduct. During his trial, the exhibition of his tortured victims struck all with horror; but fortunately for him, before his sentence had been pronounced, the death of Francis occurred, and under the succeeding reign he was allowed to escape the punishment due to his crimes.

In 1829, the King of the Two Sicilies accompanied his third daughter, Maria Christina, to Madrid, where she was united in marriage with Ferdinand VII. of Spain. During his absence, his eldest son, Ferdinand,[1] remained Regent. The young prince inherited the love of power, which had *been the* ruling passion of his grandmother, Caroline of

[1] Born 1810.

Austria, united with the parsimony of his grandfather, Ferdinand I. De' Medici and Viglia were absent, as they had followed Francis to Spain, and the ministers left in Naples were therefore made to experience the self-will of their future sovereign, who, in after times, vindictively remembered the passive resistance now offered him by Amati, Minister of the Interior. The people, however, augured well of a prince who turned his back on his father's hated favourites, as well as on the rapacious ministers who were shamelessly robbing the State. Though without a spark of patriotism, Ferdinand possessed the pride often allied with meanness, and resenting the dictation from the Court of Vienna, so long submitted to by his father and grandfather, he was desirous of forming a national army: for the first time, therefore, after the lapse of many years, the Neapolitan army, which had been degraded and neglected by their sovereigns, found sympathy and had their hopes and ambition awakened by the heir to the throne. The return of the Court from Madrid was soon followed by the death of the Minister Medici. The cost of this journey is stated at 692,705 ducats, which added to the already embarrassed state of the exchequer.

In July of the year 1830, a revolution placed Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, on the throne of France. He had for some time past, in conjunction with Francis, fourth Duke of Modena, been tampering with the liberal party in Italy; both dukes aiming at a crown, through the agency of men whose hopes they flattered to betray. No sooner had Louis Philippe, by unexpected good fortune, reached the height at which he aspired, than he perceived that his best interest was to make friends with the reigning dynasties; and Francis of Modena, finding himself abandoned by the King of the French, thought it safest to

trust once more to the protection of Austria. Whether actuated by some latent feeling of remorse, or perceiving in the means which had raised him to a throne and displaced his cousin Charles X., that there is danger to royalty in too long a resistance to the will of the people, Louis Philippe proposed to address a memorial to his brother-in-law, Francis of Naples, urging on him the necessity of yielding his subjects a Constitution like that of France. He was anxious to seek the best advice in an affair of so much delicacy, and therefore consulted one well acquainted with the Neapolitan Court and king, General William Pepe. Though still an exile in Paris, the general had not been favoured by any direct communication from Louis Philippe, when Duke of Orleans, and during the intrigues carried on with the liberal party in Italy; he was therefore now, for the first time, summoned to his presence. The memorial was drawn up and sent; but Francis, reposing in the luxuries of a Court which rivalled that of the regency and Louis XV. of France, only replied, "that the danger was not so near." His short reign, and longer career of vice and tyranny, was, however, near its close, and a few months later, when on his deathbed, he is said to have anticipated the evils impending over his race. A hypocrite towards his own subjects, and untouched by pity or remorse where the sufferings of others were concerned, he yet died of grief and indignation at the success of the revolution in France, which had raised the hopes of the liberals throughout Europe. He left the aristocracy immersed in pleasure and vice; the people sunk in ignorance and superstition; and taught by the example of their rulers contempt for law, they were governed by the scaffold, by torture, by the police and Swiss soldiers; while the kingdom itself was reduced *to the condition* of a viceroyalty of Austria.

CHAPTER VIII.

REIGN OF FERDINAND II.

1830-1846.

A general amnesty—Reforms—Revolutionary movements in Italy—State of Sicily—The Society of Young Italy—Mazzini—Marriage of Ferdinand—Piedmont—The conspiracy of Il Monaco and of the Rossarolls—Ferdinand insists on uniformity of government in Sicily and Naples—Birth of an heir to the throne—Death of the Queen—Ferdinand marries an Austrian princess—Annuls the Sicilian Constitution—The cholera—Attempts at Revolution—Society of the Ferdinandea—The sulphur question—The King's ministers—The Bandiera—Death of the Deputy Poerio—Bozzelli—Vincenzo Gioberti—Count Balbo—The Marquis d'Azeglio—The conspiracy of Renzi.

THE accession of Ferdinand II. was hailed by the people as a joyful event; for in every new king they hoped for an amelioration of their unhappy condition; and their hopes appeared confirmed by his determination to take the reins of government into his own hands, and no longer to allow the ministers to be masters. Though despising the refinements as well as luxuries of life, Ferdinand was able at times, and where he pleased, to assume a royal condescension and affability which readily imposed on men who love the atmosphere of a court; while his profound ignorance and superstition, which he shared with the lowest class of Naples, assisted to make him equally popular with the Lazzaroni. From infancy he had been taught to prize money for its own sake, and the love of wealth, with the love of power, had become *his ruling passions*. A character such as his was not

likely to allow interference, even when offered as advice; and when Louis Philippe repeated to him the counsel which had been rejected by Francis, he replied in a still more haughty tone: "The Bourbons are too ancient a race to consent to innovations."

The accession of Louis Philippe had drawn the family connexion between France, Spain, and Naples even closer than before, as Marie Amelie, Queen of the French, was aunt to both Christina of Spain and Ferdinand of Naples. But the harmony between the Spanish and Neapolitan courts was for a time interrupted, when, on the birth of a daughter, the King of Spain revoked the Salic law in her favour, depriving his brother, Don Carlos, as well as Ferdinand of Naples, and all collateral male-heirs of the House of Bourbon, of the hope of succession they had hitherto enjoyed, where the direct line was only represented by a female.

Ferdinand's first act was the publication of a general amnesty, which excited a transport of joy and hope throughout the nation. Many of those who had been dismissed the army after 1821, now returned, and among them General Carlo Filangieri, the son of the philosopher, and whose exploits in war have been already frequently mentioned, but who, a few years later, proved himself no unworthy servant of his new master. The King was now able to gratify the desire he had most at heart, and form an army wholly subservient to his will, and which should only exist through him and for him. That of Murat had been totally disbanded after the Revolution of 1820, and the small body of native troops remaining had been rendered subordinate to those of Austria and Switzerland in the service of the King of Naples. As a preliminary step, therefore, Ferdinand endeavoured

to remedy the exhausted state of the exchequer by taxing the incomes of all the government officials on a graduated scale, those paying most who received the largest salaries; a measure less unjust than it at first appears, as the incomes of the Ministers of the Crown were exorbitant, compared with those of lower officials. Besides this, the King reduced the privy purse, by resigning three hundred and sixty thousand ducats of his annual income, though without any personal sacrifice, as the sum had been set aside for the royal charities, which were now accordingly restricted; while, by an order of the Minister of the Interior, gratuitous means of instruction, at the disposal of the municipalities, were bestowed on indigent students, whose education had been hitherto defrayed by the royal purse.[1] Numerous offices, which in the preceding reign had been given to the favourites of the sovereign and of the ministers, were abolished by Ferdinand; while he established a tribunal for the examination of disputed points of law, and for purposes of justice. This last measure greatly increased his popularity, and confirmed the hopes of the people, which had been raised by those features in the character of their new sovereign, which promised a different career from that of his father, as well as by his youth, and by the favourable commencement of his reign.

To enhance this popularity, and at the same time make the contrast more striking between himself and his predecessors, Ferdinand made two journeys into the provinces, during which he avoided all unnecessary expense, and arrived at the various resting-places on his route without sending any previous intimation, but lodging where he

[1] See *Rivolgimenti d'Italia*, and *Storia d'Italia*, 1814-1850, Gualterio, vol. I. *p. 320.*

could best be received, not even despising the humble accommodation of the mendicant friars. This first tour only occupied six days, in which he was lavish of promises to the people, and he returned to Naples with no fewer than six thousand petitions. Not a few of these represented the oppressive conduct of the Intendente Sant' Angelo; while seated beside the King, he was abused by the people following the carriage, who heaped opprobrious terms on their tyrant; and Ferdinand, therefore, resolved to bring the offender to justice, summoned him to Naples to stand his trial for mis-government.

Some alarm was created in Naples, early in 1831, by revolutionary movements in Modena and the States of the Church. Francis, Duke of Modena, who had lately conspired with Louis Philippe and the liberal party in Italy, was, as has been already stated, the son of an Austrian archduke, who had married the daughter and heiress of the last of the House of Este, and he had been always notorious for his oppressive government, even among the despots of Italy. He had had an able coadjutor in Canosa, who, when banished from Naples, and before taking up his final residence in Genoa, had found a safe refuge in Modena. The secret encouragement which the Duke's ambition had tempted him to give the liberals, the success of the late revolution in France, and the desertion of their cause by Louis Philippe, succeeded by that of the Duke himself, had at once decoyed and goaded on his unhappy subjects to a revolt, in which they were seconded by the inhabitants of the States of Rome. The whole peninsula would probably have followed the example, had not the armies of Austria, and the interference of *France*, with that of the other potentates of Europe, *crushed* the rebellion in its commencement, and left the

Duke and Pope at liberty to wreak their vengeance on their unhappy subjects.

The Neapolitan liberals, encouraged by Ferdinand's apparent desire to meet their wishes, had, in the commencement of his reign, established a central committee in Naples, composed of deputies from the committees already instituted in the provinces. They had asked, and even hoped to obtain, from a Bourbon king, a representative government; and now when the ministers (whose absolutist principles were undoubted) were alarmed by the present aspect of affairs, the popular measures begun by Ferdinand, appeared certain of fulfilment. Intonti, Minister of Police, aware how much he was detested by the people for his conduct during the reign of Francis, and feeling his person hardly safe, made advances to the liberal party, and advised Ferdinand to increase the powers of the Council of State,[1] to convoke an assembly of notables, to reorganize the administrative system in the provinces, and to form a national guard; and he even secretly promoted some trifling insurrections, to terrify him into compliance. The writs for the members of Parliament had been issued, the commanders of the national guard appointed, and both deputies and officers chosen from those who had filled the same situations in 1820, when a courier arrived from Prince Metternich to inform Ferdinand of the entrance of Austrian troops into the Roman States, and urging him not to yield. The King, who had so lately commended the wisdom of his minister, no sooner perceived that the revolt in Italy was likely to be effectually crushed, than he altered his tone towards Intonti, who now found he had been too hasty in his liberal measures; while his sovereign, anxious

[1] *See Colletta's History of Naples*, vol. ii., Book viii., chap. i., p. 256.

to rid himself of the ministers of Francis, gladly seized on any pretext to effect this object. General Filangieri, who had assisted in the plots of Intonti to intimidate the King, betrayed the conspiracy to Ferdinand, and assured him the Minister of Police had himself intended to revolutionize Naples.[1] On the following night, gendarmes surrounded the house where Intonti resided; his papers were seized, and he himself hurried into a carriage, and escorted to the frontiers. The news of his fall were received with unbounded joy by the people, whose exultation was, however, soon checked, when they learned that Del Carretto (a name held in as much abhorrence as that of Intonti) had been appointed in his stead. The King next dismissed Amati in disgrace for the part he had taken against him when Regent, while he gave Viglia permission to retire upon a large fortune, and finally turned out all the old ministers, and formed a cabinet composed of men subservient to his will. His subjects, however, who only saw in this measure the removal of unpopular rulers, applauded their sovereign.

Fresh disturbances, meanwhile, in Sicily, during the autumn of 1831, showed that the spirit of discontent there was unallayed, though the general amnesty of Ferdinand, in the beginning of his reign, had included a pardon to several Sicilians languishing in prison for political offences of a recent date. Eleven persons now perished on the scaffold, and many more were condemned to minor punishments. The total disregard of the Constitution of 1812 (which had been made a condition by Lord Castlereagh in 1816, and promised by Ferdinand I.), was enough to rouse the spirit of a people more tolerant of oppression *than the* Sicilians; but the accession of Ferdinand II.,

[1] See *Storia d'Italia*, 1814-1850, Ranalli, vol. i. p. 322.

who was born in Sicily, which he left when a child of ten years of age, who spoke their dialect, and boasted of being a Sicilian, had naturally awakened a hope that he would act in a manner more conformable with the laws of the country than his predecessors. In his first proclamation he had acknowledged their wrongs, and declared his resolution "*to heal the wounds of Sicily, inflicted by his father and grandfather.*" He removed an unpopular lord-lieutenant, and caused him to be tried for treason, sending his own brother, Leopold Count of Syracuse, in his place. The appointment of one of the royal family restored a court at Palermo. It appeared to secure the Sicilians from bureaucratic or Neapolitan domination; and the Government was for a time made purely Sicilian. But, however popular this measure, it could not efface the recollection, that while Sicily was without a national Parliament and Constitution, there was no guarantee to secure liberty or a just administration of the laws; and the open violation of all morals on the part of the new governor, soon converted the loyalty of the people into disgust.

Meantime the Neapolitan liberals, indignant at their late bitter disappointment, and at their King submitting to the dictation of Metternich, were revolving an Italian revolution, which should insure representative governments in each separate state of the peninsula, and unite all in one National Confederation. For this purpose they despatched one of their party, Francesco Paolo Ruggiero, to establish two lines of communication on either side of the Apennines, while Naples was to keep up the correspondence at sea, by Malta and Marseilles. Unfortunately for Italian liberty, the several States of the peninsula had been *hitherto kept* apart by mutual hatreds and jealousies;

but their sufferings in a common cause were now gradually leading to a spirit of nationality, and the people began to perceive that they, like their princes, must seek for strength in combination; the conviction was fast forcing itself on their minds, that unity and brotherhood, extending wherever the Italian language is spoken, are the only means by which they can hope to succeed, or drive out the foreign power who has spread his roots in Italy, who supports her petty tyrants, and saps the sources of that freedom which is the birthright of the land. These ideas first emanated from some of the most enlightened of the Carbonari; but ideas are of slow growth in the mass of the people, and they only now gave a promise of fruit, when petty rivalries and antipathies were beginning to be forgotten in the universal misery.

Among the most earnest and conscientious, but at the same time unhappy efforts produced by the spirit of the age, were those of an association which sprung up in Piedmont in 1831 under the name of *Young Italy*. Its chief leader was Joseph Mazzini, a Genoese, who had that year sent up an address to the King of Sardinia to the same effect as those already presented to the King of the Two Sicilies, praying for a constitutional statute. For this act he was forced into exile, and he then first laid the scheme for a union of all Italy under a republican form of government. In his work entitled *Royalty and Republicanism in Italy*, he writes thus—"A republic may be a good or a bad thing according to time and place; governments cannot be improvised; they must spring from the very heart of the people, from the history, the education, the social re-organization, the habits and tendencies of the country." Attributing the failures of former revolutions to the faults of their leaders, he declares that

it would be unfair to estimate the Italian people by the proofs given in their previous attempts to obtain freedom: that they had been called upon to fight by an aristocracy or by kings, and had experienced the cowardice of the former, the disloyalty of the latter; that it was therefore folly to expect they would give their substance, labours, and life, for them; but once let them be called upon to fight for their own liberty, and to feel that success must depend on their own arm, and they would give a noble example of strength and heroism.

The end proposed by the society of Young Italy, was to regenerate the political condition of the country; their means, the union of the federalists throughout the peninsula and the adjacent islands; and the measure for its attainment, a general revolution. None were admitted into the society who had passed the age of forty, or who had been stained by crime. The founders commenced their work by publishing a newspaper, entitled *La Giovine Italia*, containing a series of articles on politics, morals, and literature, all tending to promote a democratic government. The scheme met with little encouragement from the liberals of Naples, who ridiculed it as utopian; but as Mazzini assured them that the idea would work marvels in Upper and Central Italy, they agreed, while rejecting it fundamentally, to accept it as a subsidiary means.

The struggle, which was even then approaching, was one of no ordinary nature; and the powers opposed to one another were as unequal in strength as differing in kind. On one side, the Italian people, divided in their interests, and only recently united in a common cause, by a common suffering, but with the mutual wounds inflicted during many centuries hardly yet healed; disorganized thousands *without one natural* head, and their self-instituted leaders

having (besides the foe) to contend against ignorance, credulity, fanaticism, and even philanthropy; while their sole trust lay in their righteous cause, and in the sense and genius of the people they had to guide: on the other, one of the greatest powers of Europe, supported in her claims to dominion over half the peninsula, and to supremacy over the whole, by Russia, Prussia, France, and even England; with an organized system of government, police, and an army of foreigners, under the direction of the most skilful diplomatist of the age, who had maintained the policy of Austria by spreading the family connexions in all the reigning families of Italy, offering Austrian protection to all her rulers, supporting priestly domination, spreading superstition, and fomenting dissensions among the people.

Sardinia alone, among the dynasties, was true to Italy, because adverse to Austria, and it was therefore all important for her to secure the alliance of Naples. It appeared, therefore, to promise well for the cause of union and nationality, when, in 1832, Ferdinand (having attained his twenty-second year) visited Piedmont in the strictest *incognito*, and was there married to Maria Christina, the youngest daughter of the late king, Victor Emmanuel I. The King of Naples, in the Court of Turin, found himself surrounded by all that was congenial to his nature; and amidst military and ecclesiastical institutions, both of which were all-influential in Piedmont, he learnt a new lesson of power. From the period that Piedmont first became a kingdom (1720) the Government had been a pure despotism, supported by a haughty aristocracy and army; while the Church, and more especially the Jesuits, *enjoyed great* wealth and influence. After the interval of *the French* Revolution, the absolute power of the kings

of Sardinia had been restored, and was only interrupted by the short-lived revolution of 1820, in which Charles-Albert, heir-presumptive to the throne, was supposed to have been implicated. The Court of Vienna, desirous of extending the power of Austria, by family ties, in Sardinia, as she had already done in Tuscany,[1] Modena,[2] and Parma,[3] endeavoured to prove the guilt of the young prince, to cause the Salic law to be revoked, and thus smooth the way to the succession of Francis Duke of Modena, the son of an Austrian archduke, and husband of a Sardinian princess. The prudence of Charles-Albert defeated the schemes of Metternich, and he succeeded to the throne of his cousin Carlo Felice. The ambition of his house, his sincere attachment to his country, and his resentment at the insults and injuries he continued to receive from Austria, alike moved him to regard that power as the bitterest enemy of himself, his dynasty, and Italy; and while his early education amidst the struggles for liberty in France, combined with his native sagacity, enabled him wisely to discern that while promoting the interests of the people he governed, he promoted his own, his hereditary attachment to the principles of a pure monarchy, the fear of Austrian encroachment, and the strength of the Catholic or retrogradist party within his kingdom, had led him, during the first years of his reign, to continue in the path of arbitrary and oppressive rule trod by his predecessors. The disappointed hopes of the liberals had caused outbreaks, which he had mercilessly repressed, and this op-

[1] *Tuscany.* Leopold II., Grand Duke of Tuscany, was grandson to the Emperor Leopold of Austria.

[2] *Modena.* Francis IV., Duke of Modena, was son of the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, and of Beatrice d'Este.

[3] *Parma* was governed temporarily by the Archduchess Maria Louisa, widow of the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte; the rightful sovereign and lineal descendant of *Philip of Bourbon, being at this* time Duke of Lucca.

position to his government had finally assumed a definite form in the society of Young Italy. While Europe, therefore, joined Naples in auguring well from the early reforms of Ferdinand, his future rival, Charles-Albert, was ruling his people with the iron rod of despotism; and the marriage of Ferdinand, though for the time drawing the alliance closer between Naples and Sardinia, was unfortunate for the Neapolitans, since the young princess, only twenty years of age, though blessed with a singularly amiable disposition, had been educated in an atmosphere of bigotry and superstition: herself under the guidance of Jesuits, she exerted her influence over the King to increase the power of the priesthood; and Ferdinand proved his attachment to the army and the Church, by commanding military honours to be paid to saints, and by creating the warrior St. Ignatius Loyola a field-marshal, while conferring on him pay conformable with his rank. All branches of education in Naples were now confided to the Jesuits, who had returned by a Concordat between the Pope and the preceding sovereign, and they rapidly increased in wealth and influence; while the office of minister of the interior was bestowed on Sant' Angelo, who, though under trial for his conduct when Intendente of a province, had contrived to gain the goodwill of the Jesuits, and was restored to the royal favour at the intercession of the Queen.

The severities practised by the police under the superintendence of Del Carretto, with the unceasing desire for a constitution, were, however, circumstances ill calculated to allay the spirit of insurrection, ever ready to break forth in Naples. A conspiracy, called that of Il Monaco, from the friar who was its chief leader, was closely followed, in *1833, by one* in the army itself, of a more alarming cha-

racter. The plot was conducted by two brothers, the sons of that same Rossaroll who had been the last to maintain the cause of the Sicilian Constitution in 1821. They had remained in Greece after the death of their father, and, grown to manhood, had joined in the war of freedom, but no sooner returned to Naples, than they entered into this conspiracy, in which they proposed to kill the King and proclaim his brother, Prince Charles of Capua, on condition of his accepting the Constitution of France. The conspiracy was defeated, and the leaders condemned to die, but received a pardon on the scaffold. Their lives were spared to be consumed during fifteen years in irons in a Neapolitan dungeon; while this act of clemency on the part of the king obtained for him the name of a second Titus.[1] The central committee had received timely information of the discovery of this conspiracy by the Austrian Government, who had denounced its authors; but as not one of the sixty thousand conspirators turned traitor, Austria could only give up the names of those few who had carried on the correspondence. Many arrests were made in the Abruzzi and elsewhere; some persons were executed, and others banished; and at that very time, when men of honour and virtue were subjected to imprisonment or exile, Niccolo de Matteis, the former Intendente of Cosenza, who had been arrested during the reign of Francis, and was still undergoing his trial on the accession of Ferdinand, was restored to liberty, and richly compensated for his late sufferings.

Several attempts at revolution by Young Italy were made this year and the following in Piedmont; and the refugees gathering in large numbers in Switzerland, and on the borders of Italy, the King of the Two Sicilies

[1] *Narrazioni Storiche di* Piersilvestro Leopardi, p. 33.

joined Austria, Prussia, and Russia, in a protest against a hospitality which threatened the permanence of the Italian Governments. The Swiss endeavoured to defend the right of asylum, but found it vain for a small though brave nation to disobey the mandate of the great powers of Europe; the principal exiles were therefore obliged to seek shelter in England.

Meantime the disgraceful conduct of Leopold Count of Syracuse, during his administration of Sicily, having almost caused a revolt in the island, the King found it necessary in 1835 to recall him. Fearing lest the Sicilian nobles should again attempt to revive the original Constitution of 1812, Ferdinand appointed a minister to communicate personally with himself, and sent the Prince of Campofranco to succeed his brother as lieutenant in the island. From that time forth the King treated Sicily as a rebellious province, and hoped to strengthen his own power by insisting on absolute uniformity of government in Sicily and Naples; thus reducing the whole kingdom to a state of bondage.

On the 16th January 1836, Maria Christina gave birth to a prince, who was christened Francis.[1] But the joy of the King and people was soon converted into mourning by the death of the young Queen, on the 31st of that same month. She had been adored by the people, who called her "The Saint," and who, after her death, showed the affection with which they cherished her memory, by their attachment to her son. While united to her, Ferdinand appeared to have emancipated himself from the trammels of the Court of Vienna, and the death of Maria Christina was therefore a fortunate event for Austria.

After an interval of five months the King made a tour through Italy, visiting every Court except that of Turin,

[1] *Francis II.*, who succeeded to the throne of the Two Sicilies in 1859.

and reached Vienna just at a time when the relations between the Emperor and the King of Sardinia were least amicable. From Vienna he proceeded to Paris, and thence returned to Naples, where the Cholera Morbus, which had first appeared in Italy in October 1835, was raging with great violence. The Neapolitans, as well as the people in other parts of continental Europe, attributed the disease to poison, and, to tranquillize their fears, Ferdinand visited all parts of the city in person, entering the bakers' shops and tasting the bread.

About this time, the secret marriage of Prince Charles of Capua with an Irish lady, without the consent of the Sovereign, induced the King to banish his brother from Naples. The following year, Ferdinand concluded his own nuptials with Maria Theresa, daughter of the Archduke Charles of Austria, an event which was doubly displeasing to his people, from the apparent want of respect to the memory of the late Queen, for whom the Neapolitans had scarcely yet ceased to mourn, as well as from drawing the alliance closer with the Court of Vienna.

Sicily had long been preparing for revolt when the visitation of the cholera, which had returned to Italy in August 1837, was accompanied with the old tale of poison. The name of Ferdinand and the Neapolitans were alike detested as the authors of all their sufferings. They were groaning under the weight of taxes far beyond the limits of the sum which Ferdinand I. had promised never should be exceeded without the consent of a Sicilian Parliament, and, to crown their grievances, Ferdinand II. had torn up the decree containing the last terms of the agreement with Lord Castlereagh in 1816, and proclaimed that "*In order to draw the great family of the State nearer his royal person, he annulled Article I. of the law of 1816, by which the*

public employments of the country were reserved for Sicilians." This had been followed by the arrival of a number of Neapolitans (creatures of the King), who were employed to subvert the existing administrations, and introduce what was called a mixed government, or the law of "*prosmicuità*," by which the officials were to be composed equally of Neapolitans and Sicilians. Complaints against this unpopular measure were followed by loss of office or imprisonment. The accusation of a spy was enough to cause ruin, and respectable citizens disappeared, lost to their relatives, either in prison or exile, and often only to gratify private revenge or envy. Those who ventured to remonstrate, were told the Neapolitans had come over to civilize the barbarians, and that it was necessary to humble the pride of the "Sicilian rabble." The lieutenant of the King had been deprived of all power, and as every public official was ordered to receive his instructions directly from the minister at Naples, he resided there the greater part of the year while dating his despatches from Palermo. The Sicilians were therefore obliged frequently to cross the sea, and add their numbers to those who crowded the antechamber of the ministers, and who had to wait days without an interview, often only to be obtained by bribery.

Anonymous publications, expressive of the desire for a constitution, and attributed to Prince Charles of Capua, who was now residing at Malta, were circulated among the people, and at the very moment when they were most incensed against the King, the cholera made its appearance. A ship laden with soldiers from Naples, some of whom had died of the disease on the voyage, arrived at Palermo, and soon afterwards it broke out there with frightful virulence. The dense population of the city, and the state of the atmosphere, were enough to account for the mortality, but

the Sicilians complained with bitterness, the plague had been sent them by the Neapolitans. Even people of rank and education believed in the report of poison, and the Archbishop of Palermo himself died in the firm belief it had been the occasion of his death. No measures were taken to convince the people of their error, or to soothe their irritation; and in the midst of this perplexity and terror, the cry for a Constitution was once more raised in Catania, and a Provisional Government proclaimed. The attempt at revolution was, however, speedily suppressed, but the King, enraged with his Sicilian subjects, and now almost entirely under the influence of Del Carretto, sent the minister of police himself to wreak his vengeance on Sicily.

Meantime Calabria, which had suffered from an earthquake in April of that same year, was likewise devastated by cholera. That province, which, with the exception of Sicily, had most cause of complaint against the Government, was the most ready to confound a calamity of nature with political grievances. The people were convinced that poison had been sent down in caskets to the Intendentes and used to infect the wells. At the first sign of a spirit of insubordination, Del Carretto conferred unlimited power on Giuseppe Liguoro, the Intendente of Catanzaro, who had aided him on his former visit to Calabria when Bosco had been destroyed, and he now ordered him again to employ forcible measures to repress the insurrections. Liguoro not only dragged those before the military commissions who had spread the report of poison, but even those who were credulous enough to believe it; seven of these last were condemned to death, which gave rise to a conjecture that they were men displeasing to the Government, and of whom the police were anxious to get rid.

Order had been restored in Sicily before the arrival of Del Carretto, but he immediately instituted courts-martial there to try the offenders. A thousand of the Sicilians were placed under arrest; most of them were sentenced summarily to death, and more than a hundred executed. The leaders had escaped or fallen in conflict, but Del Carretto hoped by the number of his victims to strike terror, prove the magnitude of the revolt to Europe, and justify the subsequent acts of the Government, which had already been decided on. Such was the haste with which the executions were conducted, that, in one instance, there was found one too many among the dead. A lad of fourteen perished, besides many priests and women, while, to add to the horror of the scene, a band of music was ordered to play during the executions. Del Carretto passed his time in feasting and dances, to which he invited the wives and daughters of those who had fled, or been compromised. Some few lives alone were spared through the intervention of General Reggio, who, though he had accompanied Del Carretto, did not quite forget he was himself a Sicilian.

On his return to Naples, the minister of police was rewarded by the order of St. Januarius. He declared Sicily to be in a state of barbarism, and unworthy of free institutions; every trace of Sicilian privileges was accordingly effaced, the taxes were increased and everything centralized in Naples, while the administration within the island was entirely confided to Neapolitans. A system of espionage was organized, the principal management of which was intrusted to bishops, priests, and Jesuits. Any persons denying an accusation, or offering resistance while being dragged to the police-office or barracks of the gendarmes, were scourged, hung up by the arms, or tortured still more frightfully to extract evidence against themselves or others;

while all found carrying arms were publicly flogged by the hands of the executioner, which punishment could be inflicted at the pleasure of the police. Such continued to be the state of Sicily from 1837 to 1847.

Secret societies, resembling those of the old Carbonari, though in a modified form, had already sprung up in the island, and had spread their ramifications throughout the Neapolitan kingdom. The Abruzzi and Calabria formed the two centres of agitation on the mainland, and committees organized in various places, communicated with one another, and with the central committee in Naples. Opposed to them was the party then dominant in the kingdom, called Austro-Spanish, from the influence of Vienna, and their principles resembling those of the old Spanish Viceregal Government. Though Ferdinand continued occasionally to resist the assumed supremacy of Austria (whom he proposed as his model, not his guide), his jealousy of the rising influence of Piedmont was gradually throwing him entirely into the power of Metternich: Charles-Albert, while improving the internal condition of his country, encouraging commerce and agriculture, and reforming the muncipalities, was paving the way for an extension of political freedom; and his labours for the advantage of his people, with his antagonism to Austria, who vainly endeavoured to frustrate his schemes for the public good, alike pointed him out as a future leader, to the advocates of gradual reform and constitutional monarchy; while in Ferdinand they beheld the avowed adversary of liberty, and the friend and disciple of the foreign tyrant of Italy. The purely local insurrections of Sicily and Naples began to be regarded in the light of Italian revolutions. Viewed as such at Vienna, where it was feared they would *give an impulse to movements* in Central Italy, it became

the interest of Austria to repress every attempt of the Sicilians or Neapolitans to recover their Constitutions; and in order to defeat the machinations of the liberal party in Italy with their own weapons, the cabinet of Metternich resorted to a secret society on the side of despotism.

In 1799, a society called the Order of Santa Fede,[1] or as the members were designated, the Sanfedisti, had been established to support the ecclesiastical power; but in 1836, on the accession of Gregory XVI., they had acted with so little discrimination, that Cardinal Lambruschini, then minister, though trained in the school of the elder Bourbons of France, was himself obliged to restrain their abuses, at the same time expressing the gratitude of the Church for the services they had rendered, and the hope that they would be continued. An association of a similar kind now sprang up under the auspices of Austria, which adopted the name of "the *Ferdinandea*" in compliment to the two Ferdinands, reigning in Vienna and Naples, and whose alliance had been cemented by a secret understanding that, when an opportunity occurred, they were each to take possession of a large slice of the Papal territories, north and south. This society, while endeavouring to strengthen the interest of Austria in Italy, spread infamous libels against the King of Sardinia, under the colours of friends of liberty, and thus did their utmost to aid the cause of their patrons.

In 1839, some progress was made in material improvements in Naples, though more for the convenience of the King than for the advantage of commerce or of the people. A railroad was completed from Naples to Portici, which was afterwards prolonged to Castellamare and Nocera, and for

[1] *See* Gualterio, *Rivolgimenti Italiani*, vol. iv. p. 41, note, pp. 454, 455.

the first time the metropolis was lighted with gas. Ferdinand's rage for interfering in every branch of the government extended even to trade, and under the pretence of preventing abuses, and of co-operating to spread advantages, he meddled in all branches of national industry, suspended and dissolved obligations and contracts, and ruined many enterprises, thus placing himself as a barrier to every great undertaking. The sulphur trade in Sicily was carried on chiefly by English merchants, but in 1840, the King granted a monopoly to a French company. From his close alliance with Austria he no longer needed the protection of England as an ally, and therefore was indifferent if he offended her, fearing that too frequent intercourse between the English and his subjects might increase the desire of the Sicilians for political freedom. Ferdinand desired also to make the sulphur mines profitable to his exchequer, and as he could not establish a tariff without the consent of the Sicilian Parliament (which he did not wish to convoke), he sold the monopoly to the French company, on condition of their making new roads, and paying an annual sum to the Neapolitan Government. The British merchants joined the Sicilians in a remonstrance to the King, but Ferdinand denied their claims. The English seized on the property of Neapolitan vessels in the seas of Naples, and the King in return sequestrated British ships. The dispute might have led to a war had not the French Government interfered, and persuaded the King of Naples to indemnify the British merchants, and withdraw the monopoly. By these terms, however, Ferdinand incurred no loss, since the money was extorted from the Sicilians, who had already suffered from his grant to the French company. The triumph of England was viewed with jealous eyes by Russia, and she com-

menced intrigues within the island, which were neither unperceived nor discouraged by Ferdinand.

Alarmed, however, at the growing spirit of discontent in Sicily, the King, in 1842, determined to visit it in person, hoping by his presence to propitiate the islanders. In his progress from Messina to Palermo, he observed that the roads were deserted, and that, upon his entering the latter city, the doors and windows of the houses were closed. He sent for the authorities to inquire the reason, and assured them he was ignorant of any misgovernment in the island; but having been convinced that his life was hardly safe there, he soon returned to Naples. Shortly afterwards an outbreak occurred in the Abruzzi, where the governor of the province was one Tanfano, formerly the head of a band of brigands in the service of Cardinal Ruffo. Tanfano was assassinated in the beginning of the revolt, but though it was soon suppressed, the Marquis Dragonetti, with about thirty nobles, was thrown into prison, and upwards of three hundred persons fled into the Roman States and to Malta. Dragonetti, who was arrested for the second time, was a man of mild and benevolent character, and did not belong to any extreme party in politics, but the liberality of his views, and his exertions to promote the material welfare of the people, were sufficient to bring him under constant suspicion.

The King had now fallen almost entirely under the guidance of three men—Del Carretto, the Minister of Police; Monsignor Cocle, his confessor; and Sant' Angelo, Minister of the Interior. Sant' Angelo united in his single person the departments of public instruction, agriculture, and commerce; and having amassed great wealth, he gathered around him men of genius, whose flattery he prized, while he, in his turn, cajoled Ferdinand, affecting

entire subserviency to his will. Little was done to advance the internal prosperity of the kingdom, for even the money destined for the construction of roads was applied by him to other purposes to please the King. By his laws for the regulation of the civil administration, he increased the despotic power of the sovereign, subjecting the election of the municipal officers, as well as of the members of the district and provincial councils, to the Government, and depriving them of all power to dispose of the communal and provincial revenues without the consent of the King. Monsignor Cocle, Archbishop of Patrasso, and Confessor to Ferdinand, belonged to the Order of the Ligoristi, and was opposed to all progress in knowledge. He enjoyed even greater influence than Sant' Angelo, and under his tuition, the King, while affecting the most rigid morality, and enforcing the same on the Royal household, as well as strict economy in the palace, indulged his favourite passion in the accumulation of wealth. To gratify his avarice and the rapacity of the public officials, an excessive retrenchment was introduced in the pay of all subordinate officers, leading to pilfering and dishonesty, and lowering the moral standard of the people, who believed that an office under Government conferred a right to seize on the property of others.

As the stability of a despotism, such as that of Naples, depends on the ignorance of the masses, every attempt to enlighten or raise the minds of the subjects was rewarded with persecution. The police were eager to get possession of the whole censorship of the press, part of which was still retained by the Jesuits. An opportunity soon presented itself. Among the annuals for new year's day, 1844, there was one containing an account of a journey to *Pizzo in Calabria*, by Mariano D'Ayala, Professor of the

Military College, and formerly an officer in the army of Joachim. Though holding a place under Government, D'Ayala took this opportunity of making observations considered derogatory to the King, as he described how the statue of Ferdinand I. nobly turned its back on the spot where Murat was shot. The author was accordingly degraded from his office, and much to the indignation of the Jesuits, the Minister of Police seized this moment to transfer the entire censorship of the press to himself. Everything was bought and sold through Monsignor Cocle and Del Carretto, and where they had rival interests they always contrived to settle the matter amicably.

In his management of the police, Del Carretto had the skill to render it less vexatious than formerly; but while abolishing a special tribunal instituted by Francis, he transferred its authority to the ordinary tribunals, and by ferocious executions and acts of violence, repeated from time to time, kept alive the dread of his power. He revived the punishment of flogging, and the citizens hardly felt their lives safe in his hands: with the co-operation of the Austrian minister, Lebzeltern, he magnified his own importance with the King, by keeping Ferdinand in constant alarm by accounts of plots and conspiracies. The King's favourite army appeared scarcely sufficient to protect him from his subjects, and he accordingly placed a body of eight thousand gendarmes at the disposal of the Minister of Police, and purchased a body-guard of Swiss. The prisons, filled with persons accused of political offences, as well as the ordinary number of criminals, were in a loathsome condition; and while the physical sufferings of the prisoners surpassed the imagination of those who had not beheld these dens of misery, they were schools of cor-

ruption, by which the offender left their walls worse than when he entered. Greedy officials made their own profits there as well as in the endowments for public charities, where they swarmed, and amassed riches at the expense of the poor, for whose benefit these institutions were intended. But though Del Carretto and Cocle ruled over Ferdinand by his fears and superstition, the King was jealous of his authority; and in order to counteract the preponderating influence of any one minister in the Cabinet, he had the cunning to foment their dissensions, and, in doing so, often likewise frustrated measures for the welfare of the country, or even for the increase of the army. With the same intention he added a set of subordinate ministers, and instituted himself arbiter and judge in all disputes in the Cabinet. But he was guided in the choice of these men by the advice of Monsignor Cocle, whose favour the ministers themselves were often obliged to purchase.

In 1843, the agents of Young Italy meditated an insurrection, which they hoped would lead to a general revolution; but the police having received timely notice, fifty-six individuals, chiefly medical students in Naples, were arrested; neither Naples nor Sicily responded to these republican movements, but insurrections of greater importance took place in the States of Rome.

Towards the end of 1842, three officers of the Venetian navy had joined the society of Young Italy. The first, Domenico Moro, a young man of twenty-two years of age, was a lieutenant in the Austrian ship "Adria," and the two others, Attilio and Emilio Bandiera, were the sons of Rear-Admiral Bandiera. In 1831, the admiral had disgraced his name as an Italian, by the arrest of some of his *unfortunate countrymen*, who, having been instigated to

rebel, and afterwards abandoned by Francis of Modena, were making their escape to France. Attilio was thirty-four years old, his brother ten years younger, and both were eager to efface the stigma which was attached to their name; they accordingly joined Domenico Moro, and entered into a correspondence with Mazzini, at that time the only hope of Italy. The insurrection of 1843 was then in the course of preparation. The movement, which had commenced at Bologna, failed from want of co-operation on the part of the Calabrese, as well as from (as above stated) the general absence of sympathy with a republican revolution throughout the kingdom of the Sicilies. The Bandiera were, however, ready to renew the attempt. They accordingly quitted the Austrian dominions for Corfu, where they were joined by Moro. The leadership of the enterprise was confided to Ricciotti, a Neapolitan and old friend of Mazzini, who had suffered nine years' imprisonment after 1821. He joined the rest of the conspirators at Corfu, but meantime the Italian governments had received intimation of their proceedings from a quarter least expected. A letter of Cardinal Lambruschini, addressed to the Cardinal Legate of Bologna, and dated 12th April 1844, contains these words:—"I hasten to inform you, that from the first days of the present month, I am informed by a ministerial report, that now the English police begins to act in regard to the Italian and Polish refugees; that Sir James Graham, Home Minister in London, having intercepted the letters there directed to the noted Mazzini, has discovered that an anonymous person (Ricciotti, it is supposed) wrote to him that all was ready in the Legations to begin a revolution, but that France impeded it with her *system of* opposition. . . . Lord Aberdeen, Minister for *Foreign Affairs*, having been made aware of such a letter,

promised that for the future the movements and actions of all the refugees should be watched," etc.[1]

A Corsican, of the name of Boccheciampe, pretending himself to be a patriot, but secretly in communication with the Italian Governments, joined the little band at Corfu. Deceived and already betrayed by him, they landed to the number of twenty on the coasts of Calabria, on the 17th June 1844. They were immediately attacked by the soldiers prepared for their arrival; though only nineteen (Boccheciampe having abandoned them) against seventy armed men, they repulsed their assailants, but a house in which they stopped for refreshment was surrounded, and after a short resistance, in which Emilio Bandiera had his arm broken, and Moro was wounded, they were all captured. Beaten, searched, and plundered, they were conducted in chains to the dungeons of Cosenza, where the inhabitants showed their sympathy for the unhappy prisoners in various ways. All were condemned to die. The following day they were led through the midst of a silent and gloomy concourse of spectators, and after embracing one another, met death fearlessly, with the name of their country on their lips. The people collected the bullets with which they had been shot, and preserved them as sacred relics, and their death was lamented throughout Italy, as well as in Calabria. Among the many testimonials to their honour, is an eloquent passage in a work of Vincenzo Gioberti, a man who, though at this time an exile in Paris, was soon to fill Italy and Europe with the fame of his name.[2] The sincerity of their patriotism, and their intrepidity, touched the hearts of the Italian people; and those who had, by a severe interpretation of the laws

[1] See Letters of Cardinal Lambruschini, 423, 434, 435, numbered outside, No. 1736; and Memoirs of Felice Orsini.

[2] *See Prolegomeni del Primato*, by Vincenzo Gioberti, pp. 34-41.

in the case of a handful of misguided men, ordered their death, only gained opprobrium for themselves, and converted their victims into martyrs. An Austrian archduke, the comrade of Emilio Bandiera at school and college, entreated the Queen his sister to petition Ferdinand for his life; but the King was obdurate. The intercession of an Austrian prince is the more to be admired, since so completely at variance with the policy of his family; for a few years later, in a complaint against the Court of Rome, Metternich included, "*funeral obsequies for the Bandiera.*"

The very month in which the Bandiera perished, the Earl of Radnor, in the English House of Lords, presented a petition from Mazzini against the ministers who had opened his letters. Lord Radnor expressed the "shame and displeasure" with which the act had been spoken of, the greater because aggravated by re-closing the letters with a counterfeit seal, and thus transmitting them to the unsuspecting owner. The discussion on the question took place during the following July, when Lord Normanby asked whether the letters of Mr. Mazzini had been submitted to the representatives of any foreign power: and the Earl of Aberdeen replied, "Not one syllable of the correspondence has been communicated to any person whatever."[1] Had no such communication taken place, which would thus appear to have happened without the knowledge of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, these rash and unfortunate patriots would probably have perished; but as long as the aspirations of young and generous hearts meet with sympathy and honour, so long will all who volunteered to assist the cause of the tyrants of the Italian people, be associated with the shedders of innocent blood. Englishmen have ever acted on the principle that every government is

[1] *Hansard*, vol. lxxvi. p. 313. Debate in the House of Lords.

safe, which, like our own, rests on the attachment of the people; the conspirators of Spain or of France, of the Vendée, of Strasburg and Ham, the patriot and the prince, have alike found a safe asylum on their shores, and by this (it is to be hoped) almost solitary instance of treachery towards those in misfortune, England herself has been the party most deeply injured.

On the first intelligence of the attempted rebellion at Cosenza, the Neapolitan police arrested nine persons reputed to hold liberal opinions, among whom were Mariano D'Ayala, Francesco Paolo Bozzelli, and Carlo Poerio; and though they were released after a few months' detention, and the Government affected to speak lightly of the late attempt at insurrection, the arrest of men of influence convinced the people that a more general and deep-laid conspiracy was feared.

This year died Baron Giuseppe Poerio, Deputy to the Neapolitan Parliament of 1820, leaving his sons Carlo and Alessandro to inherit the esteem their father had won from his fellow-citizens. His popularity had been shared by his old friend, Francesco Paolo Bozzelli, Councillor of State in 1820, who, in 1821, had accompanied General William Pepe to the camp. Bozzelli had passed seventeen years of exile in France, Belgium, Switzerland, and England, engaged in works of poetry and philosophy, and in the study of political science. Though vain and superficial in character, and suspected as such by his companions in exile, he was regarded on his return to Naples in 1838, as one of the martyrs for liberty, while his habitual silence was thought to denote prudence and caution. His imprisonment with Carlo Poerio, and others of equally high reputation, increased his popularity, and upon his release he became *the* leader of the Liberals in Naples. The

cause of Naples meantime was every year becoming more closely identified with the cause of Italy, and the demand for reforms in each separate state was echoed throughout the peninsula.

Foremost in the struggle which was fast preparing to burst upon Europe, were the States of the Church, Tuscany, and Piedmont. In spite of centuries of oppression, ignorance, and superstition, the people of Rome had not forgotten the traditions of their former greatness, and the inhabitants of the provinces groaning under the exactions of priests and cardinals, had made frequent efforts to shake off the incubus of ecclesiastical domination. Tuscany had been raised from the demoralized condition in which the dukes of the House of Medici had left the country, by the praiseworthy efforts of Leopold I., brother of the Emperor Joseph and Queen Caroline of Naples. His good work had been continued by the ability and care of the ministers Fossombroni and Neri Corsini, the advisers of his son and grandson. But on the death of Corsini, the government fell into the hands of men of an opposite character, and the intrinsic defects in the laws and institutions of the country became manifest. In Piedmont, on the other hand, a steady advance in material prosperity, as well as in public opinion, was perceptible, due to the energetic labours of the King, and encouraged by the writings of a man, whose influence as a philosophical leader for good and for evil, was shortly predominant throughout the whole peninsula.

The Abate Vincenzo Gioberti had been royal chaplain to the King of Sardinia in 1833, when, suspected of machinations with the Society of Young Italy, he was banished from Piedmont. While an exile in France, *Gioberti* had devoted himself to the study of philosophy, and

especially to that of the German schools. His mind, replete with images of greatness borrowed from the feudal period, from the crusades, monastic life, and Anchorites, viewed the reign of Gregory VII.[1] as the triumph of civilisation over barbarism, and he extolled the name of this Pontiff with those of Alexander[2] and Innocent III.,[3] all of whom had elevated the Papal, and debased the secular authority. Thus Gioberti gradually learned to regard the Pope as a fit leader in an enterprise which has always found in him its worst enemy. His first political work, entitled *Opera del Primato Morale e Civile degl' Italiani* (On the Moral and Political Supremacy of the Italians), was published in 1843. Strange contradictions were reconciled in these pages, where the author appeared as a philosopher, yet with a bigoted attachment to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the devoted disciple of absolutism, yet the enemy of tyranny, and while neither ecclesiastics nor royal personages could accuse him of seditious language, neither could the liberals accuse him of fanaticism or servility. He traced the moral and political supremacy of Italy to the singular privilege of containing the visible head of the Catholic Church; he disputed the notion that her want of political union was owing to the Pontiff; and endeavoured to prove that the Popes, from Gregory the Great[4] to Gregory VII., had been ever desirous to form a confederation of all the people and princes of Christendom, under the mild supremacy of Rome; out of which a military commonwealth in a monarchical form was to have arisen, governed by a prince, chosen by election, and

[1] *Gregory VII., Hildebrand.*—The opponent of the Emperor Henry IV., 1073-1085.

[2] *Alexander III.*—The opponent of Frederic Barbarossa, 1159-1181.

[3] *Innocent III.*—The opponent of John of England, 1198-1216.

[4] *Gregory the Great,* 590-604.

himself a man of peace, only powerful by his age, rank, wisdom, and sanctity. He considered that the failure of this scheme for a pontifical dictatorship, had caused the loss of her pre-eminence for Italy, and of the blessing of a stable and pacific union for the rest of Christendom: further, as the nations had now emerged from their state of pupilage, the pontifical dictatorship could only in future be exercised as a tribunal to maintain peace, and to arbitrate between contending powers; to urge princes to act for the good of their people, and the people to be grateful to their rulers, so that universal peace should reign on earth. The Catholic religion was to be restored throughout Europe, and Italy to acquire unity, independence, and political liberty. The two first objects were to be secured by creating the Pope head of a confederation of all the States in the peninsula, the third by persuading the princes to grant such reforms as would change the State without infringing on the rights of absolute sovereignty. For this end, the people must guard themselves against demanding too much, and from every thought of the subversion of existing authority; for, to suppose liberty, unity, and greatness could result from revolutions, was madness; a republican form of government was unsuitable to Italy, and a representative government superfluous and needless.[1]

The sentiments expressed in this work were echoed in the writings of Count Cesare Balbo, who, banished in 1821 to the confines of Piedmont, published in 1844 the *Speranze d'Italia* (The Hopes of Italy), where he pointed to Charles-Albert as the man destined by arms to sustain the new enterprise, in which the Pope was to represent the spiritual power. Count Balbo was followed by the

[1] See Ranalli, *Le Istorie Italiane*, vol. i. p. 13.

Marquis d'Azeglio, an accomplished gentlemen, poet, painter, and scholar, who spread the views of Gioberti in his poetical productions, and by Leopoldo Galeotti of Tuscany in his work on the "Temporal Sovereignty of the Pope."

The disciples of Gioberti, who assumed the name of moderates or constitutionalists (already adopted by the advocates of constitutional monarchy throughout Italy), met with the sympathy of many of the liberals of Naples and Sicily, who, nevertheless, being more practical than speculative in their views, continued steadily to adhere to their separate object, viz., the recovery of that liberty of which they had been unlawfully deprived. The republican party excited little apprehension in the Neapolitan police, as their number was small, and all of them well known to Del Carretto; but with a jealous eye, he watched the firm and combined movements of the party of reform, whose end was the same as that aimed at by the majority of the people; and he was ever ready to seize on whomsoever had the courage voluntarily to place himself in the van of moral or material progress. The example of the King of Sardinia, and of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, however, induced Ferdinand to consent this year to allow the seventh meeting of the association of scientific men to take place at Naples, on which occasion he granted a pardon to several of those under arrest; and this act of clemency once more raised the hopes of the sanguine Neapolitan people, while consoling a few among the numbers who had suffered persecution.

The party in Tuscany professing the principles of Gioberti, formed a conspiracy in 1845, with the avowed purpose of introducing reforms into the States of Rome, *the focus of Italian* tyranny as well as of Italian revolu-

tion. Disputes arose among the conspirators at the very outset, and the insurrection, therefore, commenced with only half the original number, who were led by a man of the name of Renzi. They issued a proclamation at Rimini, petitioning the Pope for an amnesty for political offenders, invoking better laws, and demanding a more upright administration of the country, with other requests equally moderate. After some partial success, attained without bloodshed, the insurgents were obliged to retire upon the advance of the papal troops. Ferdinand of Naples made offers of assistance to Pope Gregory, who expressed his gratitude for the zeal evinced by the King in support of the Church, but the insurrection was too speedily crushed to render it necessary to accept of succour. The leaders fled into Tuscany, where, instead of being allowed to remain unmolested, as would have been the case during the administration of Corsini, they were detained some days in prison, and finally banished, under the threat of confinement three months in Volterra, should they venture to return. Despising this warning, Renzi had the folly to re-enter Tuscany in December, when, instead of the promised punishment, the Grand Duke, at the instigation of his ministers, and contrary to the advice of his council of state, delivered him over to the pontifical authorities. On this occasion the Marquis d'Azeglio wrote his celebrated treatise, entitled, *Casi di Romagna*, which caused his banishment from the dominions of the Grand Duke, while raising him still higher in the estimation of the liberal party in Italy. *The Prolegomeni al Primato*, of Vincenzo Gioberti, a preamble to the study of his work on the Supremacy of Italy, followed. The opinions of the author had, however, undergone some modification, and he did *not hesitate* to inveigh against the oppression of rulers,

and to attack the Jesuits in particular. His first publication had been well received by the princes of Italy, but his second was viewed in a different light, and was inscribed by Pope Gregory among the works of heresy. In spite of the severe censorship, and all the obstacles presented by the police, these publications found their way into Naples, and encouraged the spirit of resistance, which had already shown itself under so many forms.

Russia, meantime, was not blind to what was going forward in Italy, and especially in Naples, where her jealousy of England had been awakened on the question of commercial interests. The young Prince Alexander paid Ferdinand a visit in 1845, and in the autumn of 1846, the Empress arrived at Palermo, followed by the Czar in person, who endeavoured to dazzle the Sicilians by the splendour of the imperial court. From Palermo, they visited Naples, where Nicholas affected to attempt a reconciliation between the King and his Sicilian nobles and people.

CHAPTER IX.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF FERDINAND II.

1846-1848.

Accession of Pius IX.—The Spanish marriages—Guizot—Rossi—Insurrection in Calabria—Romeo—Change in the Cabinet—Lord Minto in Italy—Lombardy—Embarrassments of the King of Naples—Opinions of the Liberals in Naples and Sicily—State of Sicily—Désauget sent to put down the Sicilians—The Neapolitans demand a Constitution—Del Carretto dismissed—Bombardment of Messina—Lord Minto at Naples—Proclamation of a Constitution—Lord Minto mediates for Sicily—The Neapolitan Parliament—Conduct of the British Government—A Republic proclaimed in France—Lord Minto in Sicily—A change in the Cabinet—Appointment of a National Guard—The Jesuits—Revolutions in Vienna, Berlin, and Milan—Opening of the Sicilian Parliament—Mazzini in Milan—The Programme Saliceti—War against Austria—Return of Pepe—Troya's ministry—Departure of the troops—Duplicity of the King.

On the 1st of June 1846 died Pope Gregory XVI., after a reign of fifteen years, in which he had shown himself averse to all progress, weak, timid, and superstitious. He left an exhausted treasury, and abuses and corruption in every branch of the administration; there was no security in town or country; military commissions were substituted for the ordinary tribunals, the taxes were heavy, ignorance and vice in high places, and morals and religion contaminated. He was succeeded on the 16th June by Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, who assumed the name of Pius IX. The new Pope was only fifty-four years of age, and was highly reputed for his benevolence, chivalric honour, and *the unimpeachable* purity of his character: but though *accomplished* in mind, and kind in heart, his judgment was

warped by a bigoted attachment to the rites and observances of the Roman Catholic Church, to which he united an exalted idea of the power and authority of the office he was destined to fill. At all times a zealous friend of the Jesuits, he had invited them to return to the States of Rome in 1835, when he held the See of Imola; but his generous actions when bishop, the sums he had expended on churches and charitable institutions, and his mild and conciliatory disposition, made him appear in the eyes of the Roman people, as well as of the moderate party throughout Italy, the impersonation of the Pope described by Gioberti, as the arbiter of peace in Europe. The pride of the Italian nation, as well as the hope of a long-suffering people was flattered by this idea, and the happy commencement of his reign was hailed as the harbinger of deliverance for Italy. The superstitious veneration paid by Ferdinand of Naples to preceding pontiffs, however, ceased upon the accession of Pius, and the first act of the Pope's reign, a general amnesty for all political offenders, was peculiarly obnoxious to the King. A paper was accordingly circulated throughout the States of the Church, in the name of the Society of the Ferdinandea, containing words to this effect: "Most dear brothers, the religion of Christ is in danger; the intruder Mastai is the persecutor; he is at the head of Young Italy, and desires the total subversion of the Church. . . . Brothers, as you are worshippers of the true God, do not suffer this calamity. We are strong; we are many. On our right, Ferdinand I.; on our left, Ferdinand II. The germ of liberty must be destroyed, and shall be the word at which we all will take up arms for vengeance. The day shall arrive which will confer eternal renown on us, and bring along with it tremendous retribution." The *Neapolitans* vainly demanded that the amnesty of Pius

should be placarded on the walls of their city;[1] all demonstrations in honour of the new Pope were strictly forbidden, and prints or plaster busts of Pius not allowed to be sold; the pontifical journals containing his eulogies could only be surreptitiously carried across the frontiers, to read them was a crime, and to name the Pope rendered the speaker amenable to the police.[2]

From the commencement of his reign, Pius appears to have vacillated between the generous dictates of his heart, and his fear of acting in any way contrary to the interests of the Roman Church. This hesitation of mind rendered him a tool in the hands of those by whom he was surrounded. Count Ludolf, the Neapolitan minister at Rome, who was strongly imbued with retrogradist opinions, intrigued with the Neapolitan prelates and cardinals, Grasselini, governor of Rome, Gizzi, and Antonelli, to thwart the benevolent projects of the Pontiff; and Pius himself, in his address to the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops of the Catholic Church in November 1846, breathed a spirit consonant with that of his predecessors, while condemning all that is called *progress*, as "seductive, false, deceitful, seditious, foolish, and destructive of ties religious, political, and social;" at the same time, he abolished the military commissions, ordered a revision of the code, and appointed a committee to discuss the question of railroads.

Towards 1847, a coolness arose between the Courts of England and France respecting the marriages of the Queen and Infanta of Spain. Louis Philippe, with his minister Guizot, was therefore the more desirous to maintain friendly terms with Austria, and offered no remon-

[1] Gualterio, *Rivolgimenti Italiani*, vol. iv. p. 95.
[2] *Narrazioni Storiche* di Piersilvestro Leopardi, p. 68.

strance when, in flagrant violation of the Treaty of Vienna, that power seized on the Republic of Cracow. The King, assisted by his minister, had made a vain attempt to introduce the Jesuits again into France, and now sent Pellegrino Rossi to negotiate the affair in Rome. The Order were especially under the protection of Austria, as was subsequently proved by a letter addressed to the head of the police at Milan, discovered and printed after the events of 1848, in which one of the fathers expresses their appreciation of the benefits proceeding from "the paternal cares of the great emperor." Rossi, an Italian refugee, who during his exile had formed an intimate friendship with Guizot, and whose theories of government corresponded with those of the less scrupulous French minister, remained in Rome, endeavouring to reconcile the interests of his country, and the freedom of Italy, with the tortuous policy conveyed to him from France.[1] Meantime, Pius announced the formation of a council of state, composed of lay members chosen by him from the provinces, as well as the projected organization of a national guard: the Grand Duke of Tuscany, alarmed by the vehement demonstrations of his subjects in favour of reforms, imitated the example of the Pope, and granted all their demands; while Louis Philippe, though blind to his own danger from invading the liberties of the French people, perceiving the necessity for the Italian princes to yield in some measure to the wishes of their subjects, enjoined his sons, the Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville, to urge judicious

[1] The aim of the Italians was not only reforms and liberty, but *independence*, and they would, perhaps, willingly have resigned the two first for a time, but never this last. Louis Philippe should have been convinced of this by the events in Piedmont. Pellegrino Rossi did comprehend it, but Louis Philippe, disturbed by fears of war, determined to oppose any change of the boundaries of kingdoms. —See *Gualterio, vol. iv. p. 25.*

reforms on his nephew, Ferdinand of Naples; but the King replied, they were not wanted in his kingdom; an excuse which would have been valid, had not he and his ancestors rendered the institutions of Naples a dead letter.

As the press was gagged, the only vent for public feeling was in anonymous pamphlets, clandestinely printed and circulated. Among these appeared one, entitled *Protesta del Popolo delle Due Sicilie*, by Luigi Settembrini, a man of refined genius and unimpeachable character. His work contained a sketch of the long course of ministerial tyranny under which the people of the Two Sicilies had groaned. A copy was presented to the King, who ordered the police to discover the author. Many persons were put under arrest, and among them Carlo Poerio, Mariano d'Ayala, Domenico Mauro, and Francesco Trinchera; while others were banished, Giuseppe del Re, Damiano Assanti, Enrico Poerio, and Settembrini himself, who, when arrived at Malta, acknowledged his authorship, to save others from persecution. Immediately afterwards another publication on the same subject followed, when the author, the advocate Lorenzo Jacovelli, was thrown into prison.

The mal-administration of the provinces caused the Neapolitan kingdom to be infested with banditti, especially in the neighbourhood of Cosenza, where they caused universal terror and desolation. To this was added an insurrection which broke out at Reggio in Calabria in September 1847, conducted by leaders of the names of Gian Andrea and Domenico Romeo, and followed by at least two thousand of the citizens, shouting "Long live the Constitutional king, Ferdinand II.! Long live Pius IX.! Long *live* Italy! Down with the ministers!" The insurgents *and robbers* were confounded under one name, and those

who joined the former were denounced as rebels and assassins. Some young men at Messina, seeing the tri-coloured flag hoisted on the opposite coast, assembled in the streets before the Senate House, shouting "Viva Pio Nono! Viva la Sicilia!" and calling on the people to rise. A conflict followed between them and the soldiers, in which two of their party were wounded, and the rest put to flight, leaving eight soldiers killed and twenty (among whom was the general) wounded. A ship of war, containing the Count d'Aquila, brother of the King, now arrived off Reggio; a few shots were fired at the city, to which the insurgents, aware of their own weakness, did not reply. The royalists accordingly entered Reggio without opposition, and turning to Messina, found the rebels had likewise abandoned that city. Although the insurrection was so unimportant in its results, General Nunziante, a man of ferocious character, was sent to Calabria, to complete its suppression; and Marshal Landi, who was said to resemble him in disposition, arrived in Sicily, intrusted with absolute power. The malcontents of Calabria sought refuge in the woods, but the presence of the troops soon made the rebellion real. The contest lasted through September; much blood was spilt, and the royalists would have been obliged to succumb before a band of exasperated men, had not a fresh detachment of soldiers arrived to their assistance. The insurgents were all killed or taken prisoners, and the head of their leader Romeo was paraded in triumph through the streets of Reggio. Proclamations offering money for the persons of rebels, whether taken dead or alive, were placarded in the town, and barbarous executions followed. Several youths, who bore exemplary characters for virtue and courage, were executed at Gerace, a district of the province; among them was one of the family of Mazzoni

di Roccella, engaged to be married to a young lady in Catanzaro, but who had yielded himself prisoner, trusting to the immunity promised by General Nunziante: his father died of grief at the execution of his son. Many were condemned to death at Reggio by military commissions sent there by Del Carretto, and still more would have suffered, had these barbarities not been put a stop to by General Libetta, who arrived there as procurator-general. Marshal Landi was equally successful at Messina, where he placarded like proclamations for the capture of rebels. General Vial, who was sent to Palermo under the title of commissary, pretended he had discovered a conspiracy. Whether real or invented, the barbarous punishments he inflicted were unworthy of a civilized age. Torture was applied to extort revelations from the unhappy prisoners, and such were the atrocities committed within the walls of the police office, that when broken open a few months later by the people, mutilated remains of the victims were discovered there.

Naples itself did not escape: numbers were arrested, and the commanders of the castles received orders to be prepared to fire on the city; soldiers went and came from the provinces to the metropolis, chiefly by night, and the mystery attending their movements increased the general terror, while false rumours were circulated and believed, causing so much excitement among the people, that the ministers took alarm, and the president of the Cabinet, Pietracatella, a well-meaning though obstinate and narrow-minded man, began to fear they had pushed matters too far, and proposed a change in the Cabinet. By this change the three departments of public instruction, agriculture, and commerce, which Sant' Angelo had usurped in his one person, were to be restored to three separate ministers, and the

proposal so disgusted his colleague, that he immediately tendered his resignation. The King, while accepting it, created him a marquis, and thus offered some compensation to his pride. But the people received the news of the fall of Sant' Angelo with joyful demonstrations, and it was no less gladly welcomed at Palermo, where he was supposed to be the author of the law of *Prosmicuità*, or mixed government. That same day the King published an amnesty for political offenders, but as it fell short of the expectations of the Neapolitans, a spirit of discontent manifested itself in the metropolis towards evening, which occasioned the arrest of several other persons; three weeks later the criminal court of Naples declared there was no ground for accusation against them, and they were therefore liberated on the evening of the 7th January 1848.

The alarm of rebellion was still fresh, when Ferdinand received a petition from the liberals of the moderate party in Piedmont, praying him to follow in the steps of Pius IX., Leopold II., and Charles-Albert, and secure the happiness of twenty millions of human beings. The petition was signed by Count Mammiani, Count Balbo, the Marquis d'Azeglio, Silvio Pellico, Count Cavour, and other names of distinction, but met with the usual fate of all such requests.

Efforts in the cause of Italian liberty were not wanting on the part of foreign powers. In September, Lord Palmerston, then Foreign Minister, sent the Earl of Minto to Italy, with instructions to assist in placing the improvements contemplated by the Pope at the commencement of his reign, on a solid foundation; to assure the Sardinian Government of the sincere friendship and cordial goodwill of the Government of Great Britain, and to express their regret and surprise at the official communication lately made by the Austrian minister at Turin to the Sar-

dinian Government, implying a threat that the Sardinian territory would be entered by Austrian troops, if the King of Sardinia should, in the exercise of his indubitable rights, make certain organic arrangements within his own dominions displeasing to Austria. From Turin, Lord Minto was to proceed to Florence, there to express the approbation felt by the British Government of the wise and judicious conduct of the Tuscan Government, who in spite of the family connexion with Austria, had taken an independent line. Lord Minto was ordered next, as a member of the British Cabinet, and entirely in the confidence of his colleagues, to communicate with the Pope, to state their deep conviction of the wisdom of a system of progressive improvement, and that no other government has the right to interfere in the improvement of the laws and institutions of the country, which the sovereign of that country may think conducive to the welfare of his subjects.[1]

Lord Minto, writing home from Florence in October, stated, that reliance upon British support was giving confidence to the Governments of Central Italy: that day a Sicilian gentleman called on him, as the organ of a deputation from his countrymen, to represent the grievances of Sicily; Lord Minto replied, his commission did not extend to Naples, but he promised to send a memorial presented to him by the Sicilian refugees, to the British Government. In this memorial they reminded England of the ancient Constitution of Sicily; of its having been restored in a modified form by British influence in 1812, and praying England to undertake the defence diplomatically of Sicilian rights which had been guaranteed by Great Britain. In reply, Lord Palmerston advised Lord Minto to answer all such representations, by stating that he had no instructions

[1] State Papers, September 1847.

to interfere between the King of Naples and his subjects; but that if Lord Minto should think it expedient to proceed to Naples, he might do so, and give such advice in favour of a system of temperate but progressive improvement, as he should think advisable. This was followed in December by direct instructions to proceed to Naples.[1]

France had likewise sent Count Bresson to Italy on the same mission; but as the coolness existing between his Government and that of England still continued, the French envoy cautiously avoided any expression which might give offence to the Court of Vienna. On the other hand, the sovereigns and Cabinets of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, who only regarded the necessity of maintaining the territorial partition of Italy, in order to support the wealth and influence of Southern Germany, and the balance of power in Europe, and who feared any measure which might awaken the European people to a sense of their rights, combined to watch and repress the liberal inclinations of the Italian Princes. Alarmed at the encouragement given them by England, Metternich warned the English ministers that the liberals of Italy aimed at establishing a federal republic, like that of America or Switzerland, and that the Emperor of Austria was determined at any cost to preserve that portion of his empire which extended beyond the Alps Lord Palmerston, while acknowledging the claims of the House of Hapsburg, declared his opinion that the Italian princes were fully entitled to grant useful reforms in their dominions, and that it would be desirable if the Emperor himself would encourage them in so laudable a work as that which had been commenced by the Pope, but repudiated by the King of Naples; and further, that the Court of Vienna should use its influence with Fer-

[1] State Papers, 1847.

dinand, to prevent the danger menacing thrones, should the discontent of the people pass the limits of endurance. Warnings reached England likewise from Russia, advising her to beware of weakening her old friend and ally Austria, and of strengthening her ancient rival and natural enemy, France.[1]

Resistance against a foreign and oppressive government had already commenced in Lombardy, where the public offices were held by Germans, or men subservient to the Government, and where the military authority had become so dominant that the cities appeared to be under a permanent state of siege. New and obnoxious taxes in 1846 were added to those already extorted from the Italian provinces. Towards the end of 1847, the provincial authorities, instigated by Nazzari, a deputy to the central congregation at Bergamo, ventured to use the privilege allowed by law, and present the Government with a bold yet temperate protest against their proceedings. This example was imitated in Venice, and the arrests which followed only gave a stronger impulse to the desire for reform throughout Lombardy. The Cabinet of Vienna meanwhile endeavoured to strengthen the imperial interest in Italy, by concluding a league with Modena and with the Duke of Parma (who had succeeded to his possessions on the death of the Archduchess Maria Louisa), by which the two duchies were promised the assistance of Austrian troops in case of need.

While disaffection was thus spreading in the North, the embarrassments of the King of Naples multiplied around him. His queen, his confessor, and some of his brothers urged him to follow the bent of his own inclinations, and *refuse* all compliance with the demands of his people;

[1] See Ranalli, *Le Storie Italiane*, vol. i. pp. 241, 242.

while his uncle, the Prince of Salerno, and his brother, the Count of Syracuse, endeavoured to persuade him to imitate the good example of contemporary princes. Ferdinand ordered the Count of Syracuse to quit the kingdom, and indulged in invectives against the Pope, whom he called an ignorant fanatic; a language echoed by his courtiers, who foresaw their own ruin should the reforms of Pius be introduced into Naples. The English ambassador advised the King to yield, those of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, to remain firm, while the councils of France alternated with her policy. His ministers themselves, alarmed by the threatening aspect of affairs in Italy, were disposed to make concessions; but Ferdinand was obstinate, and refused to answer, when one bolder than the rest ventured to ask, "What does your Majesty say to the clouds which are gathering around?"

Though desirous of promoting liberty in Italy under certain conditions, England was not unmindful of the safety of kings. Sir William Parker, then commanding the English fleet in the Mediterranean, alarmed for the person of Ferdinand, consulted Lord Minto who was still in Rome, whether he should take the fleet into the Bay of Naples, to protect the King. Lord Minto hastened to make this proposal to Count Ludolf, who, however, declined the offer; but Lord Minto seized the occasion to assure the Neapolitan ambassador that "the encouragement of popular insurrections formed no part of the hearty support we were disposed to give the progress of liberal reform in Italy, and at the same time strongly to impress on Count Ludolf the danger to which the King would be exposed, unless he made some advances to satisfy the just expectations of his subjects."[1]

[1] *See State Papers*, Affairs of Italy, December 17, 1847.

The frequent failure of attempts at insurrection had convinced the more rational of the Neapolitan liberals of the necessity of combined, and, at the same time, if possible, peaceful efforts to obtain their end. Their central committee at Naples was presided over by Bozzelli, and kept up a constant and active communication with those at Messina and Palermo. The liberals were divided into three sections; the two first, or those who at this time possessed the greatest influence, were guided by principles derived from France; the third was Italian in its aim and means, but only established a pre-eminence when experience had taught the people the necessity of identifying the cause of Naples with that of Italy. At the head of one of the parties for French constitutional government was Bozzelli, who proposed that Naples should follow in the steps of Louis Philippe and Guizot; General Filangieri led the second, which represented the ideas of the Muratists of 1820; while the third party which demanded a constitutional monarchy, with political reforms and Italian nationality, was composed of most of the men of intellect and principle in Naples, the first article of their creed being, a resolution to drive the Austrians from Italy.[1]

The English consul in Sicily, writing to Lord Napier, then ambassador at Naples, December 1847, thus describes the general views of the liberals of Sicily, and of those in the rest of Italy; how far they were in unison, and wherein they differed: "They are divided between Centralists and Federalists; the Centralists demand the establishment of a general government like that of France or England; the Federalists require the formation of an Italian league, similar to that of the German Confederation; the Centralists wish Rome to be the capital of Italy and the Italian States;

[1] See Massari, Casi di Napoli, 1849.

the Federalists, averse to a metropolis, desire Naples, Rome, Florence, and Milan to be each in its turn the capital of Italy, just as Berne, Lucerne, Zurich, is successively the Vorort of the Swiss Confederation. The Centralists of Sicily, who would gladly see that island separated from Naples, and formed into an independent State, would make Palermo the capital of Sicily. The Federalists, who are hostile to the proposed separation, wish the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to consist, as formerly, of two realms, united by a federal bond, but distinguished by different institutions for internal government, and they desire to make Naples and Palermo the alternate capitals of the united kingdom.

"The liberals of Sicily and Italy concur in demanding the substitution of popular election for royal nomination in the formation of communal councils and provincial assemblies. They likewise concur with the Italians in demanding the establishment of civic guards, the officers of which shall be chosen by the municipal authorities. They also concur in demanding freedom of the press under proper safeguards, and the abolition of the revisorships on the introduction of foreign books and journals. Lastly, they concur with the Italians in demanding the establishment of primary schools in all the communes, the improvement of secondary schools in all large towns, and the institution of colleges in all great cities, on a broader basis and more liberal footing than those of the present universities.

"They do not concur with the Italians in demanding a reform of the statute-book, and the introduction of juries. Satisfied with the *codice* in general, and the use of open trials, they seek only for a better and speedier mode of administering justice than has hitherto prevailed." . . . .

It may thus be observed that the present movement in the Sicilies differed essentially from that produced by foreign means in 1799, and that while political equality (the highest benefit aimed at by France) was now better understood, the Neapolitans and Sicilians, in a revolution which was wholly national, neither desired a republic nor the subversion of the existing government, but only insisted on the fulfilment of the laws, while endeavouring to smooth the way for further progress. But unhappily, great obstacles, the consequence of a long course of despotic and corrupt government, and which had grown with its growth, lay in their path. Enlightened views and rational desires for liberty, were confined to the few, while the large mass, especially in the metropolis, were sunk in ignorance, superstition, and vice; the best elements in the human character had been systematically destroyed, and the populace were only too well fitted to become a ready instrument in the hands of tyrants or demagogues, for the destruction of all that is noble in thought and action.

Meanwhile, the obstinate resistance of Ferdinand to the firm though moderate demands of his Sicilian subjects, was rapidly leading to a revolution of a magnitude and importance he little anticipated. Towards the end of December 1847, a printed ultimatum was placarded on the walls of Palermo, in which, making a final appeal to the King for a recognition of their rights, the people fixed the 12th January 1848 as their last term of endurance. This menace was treated with contempt, and on the 6th of that same month, Ferdinand sent the Duke di Serra Capriola as his lieutenant to Sicily. The Duke was a well-meaning man, but exclusively Neapolitan in his views. He came *armed with* an authority greater than had, for a long time,

been conferred on those holding this office. In the belief that he could repress the audacity of the Sicilians by prompt and strong measures, he arrested eleven of the most highly respected citizens of Palermo, two of whom were Professors Amari and Ferrara, and the third the Duke di Villarosa. The English consul, again writing to Lord Napier, affirms: "The Sicilian liberals disclaim all intention of separating from Naples, of calling for an alteration in the laws, or of requiring the convocation of Parliament. They only profess to desire to see the established laws in favour of civil liberty put in full force, and to witness the restoration of the Communal Councils and Provincial Assemblies to their original character." . . . .

The night preceding the 12th January, the police, who were aware of the moral support afforded to the people by England, tore down the English arms in front of the consul's house. Early on the following morning the cannon announced the fête-day of King Ferdinand, and as patrols of soldiers were traversing the city, they were attacked by a handful of ill-armed insurgents. The garrison, consisting of seven thousand men, were immediately withdrawn into the castle, the barracks, the bank, and the royal palace, while the lord-lieutenant sent to Naples for additional troops. Ferdinand, without delay, despatched to his aid, on the 14th January, nine steamers, conveying five thousand soldiers, under the command of General Désauget; he himself presided at the embarkation of the troops, and bade their commander farewell in these words: "General, make a garden of Palermo for me if it does not submit." His brother, the Count d'Aquila, accompanied the expedition, furnished with concessions, which even in Naples were denounced as "*too late*," and empowered to

grant a truce. Meantime detachments of troops were patrolled in Naples, and all was prepared to resist a movement.

General Désauget at once commenced bombarding Palermo. The strictest order was maintained by the authorities within the city, where the people declared death preferable to the government they had lived under,[1] and no act of violence was committed until the remains of victims discovered within the rooms of the commissary of police,[2] and who had been murdered there to avoid the scandal of a public execution, made it impossible to prevent the people wreaking their vengeance on some of the officers. A Junta was instituted, at the head of whom was placed the venerable Admiral Ruggiero Settimo Prince of Fitalia, educated in the naval academy founded by Sir John Acton in Naples: he had in his youth served with the English Admiral Hood. In 1811, he had assisted to restore the ancient rights of the Sicilian Parliament under English protection. He had retired into private life in 1812, and refused the ministry of war, subsequently offered him by the King, as well as the lieutenancy of the island. Though now past seventy years of age, his vigour was undiminished, and an unsullied name maintained during a long life, had won for him the love and veneration of his countrymen, by some of whom he was regarded as a second Washington.

Food, ammunition, and all required by the combatants was provided by the Junta, assisted by voluntary contri

[1] See State Papers, Sicily, 1848.

[2] Mr. Lyon visited the police-office, and found the secret door described by those who first entered it, as well as the small inner apartment, containing niches or shelves, in which skeletons were found. The bones and parts of human *bodies had* been removed, as many days had elapsed since the office had been *taken*. State Papers, January 1848.

butions from the people; but their hardest task was to overrule the arguments of the foreign consuls, who, with that of Guizot at their head, endeavoured to persuade the Sicilians to submit to the King. The concessions offered at the last hour by the Neapolitan Government were imperfect and superficial, and the people were now resolved not to listen to any propositions, until their Parliament had met and settled the terms of the Constitution. This resolution to maintain their right of choice, found sympathy even in Naples, from whence Lord Napier writes: "In justice to the liberal party, the great majority are opposed to the employment of coercive measures against their fellow-subjects in Sicily, and desire that the latter should have a free selection between the general Parliament projected by the Government and the separate Constitution of 1812."

Count d'Aquila returned to Naples on the 17th, to report the state of affairs to the King; and on the 18th, Ferdinand published a manifesto, declaring, that having by his royal decree of 13th August 1847 abolished or diminished certain duties in Naples and Sicily, he proposed to carry his reforms into the administration of the State, by adding to the privileges hitherto enjoyed by the Provincial Councils, by conferring the right of administration of their own property on the communes of Naples and Sicily, as far as was consistent with the power reserved by the Government for the preservation of their patrimony, etc.; and in another manifesto, addressed to Sicily, he granted them a separate administration, and that all employments, civil or military within the island, should be filled by Sicilians. On the 20th, the King ordered a list should be presented to him of political offenders, that he might *grant pardons*; and on the 24th an amnesty was

published, while the ministry of police was abolished, an its direction confided to the Minister of the Interior.

Meantime the Pope had been vainly sounded by Austria whether he would grant leave for Austrian troops to pas through his territory, to hasten to the assistance of th King of Naples. The liberal committee at Naples main tained a constant communication with those of Messin and Palermo. They drew up a petition, demanding, i the most respectful terms, a legislative chamber, and a invitation to sign it was sent from the house of Carlo an Alessandro Poerio. The first names were those of Gen ral Francesco Pignatelli, Prince of Strongoli, and Gaetan Filangieri, son of the general of that name; and these wer followed by a thousand more. On the 22d January, a ri broke out in the city of a nature which proved the univers feeling of discontent; two days afterwards, one of a mo serious character occurred; and on the 27th Januar though the sky was overcast and rain falling, the frien of liberty in the metropolis assembled to the numb of twenty thousand, nobles and plebeians, and marche through Naples carrying the tricoloured flag, and shou ing *Viva il Rè, Viva la Costituzione!* which was echoe from the windows and balconies under which they passe The Duke di Bovino, a man of seventy years of age, an intimate friend of the King, was one of the leaders in th procession. Ferdinand ordered General Ruberti, wh commanded in Sant' Elmo, to hoist the red flag, and fire o the city, but he replied that he would sooner resign tha obey this last order. The cavalry under Field-Marsh Statella were next called out, but the people surroundin the troops obliged them to join in the cry of "*Viva l Costituzione!*" Statella at one time lost the reins of h *horse* from the crowd pressing on him; they were restore

to him by Don Saverio Barberisi, a venerable old man, who said, "General, tell the King what you see; tell him that his people, unarmed and suppliants, are unanimous in demanding from him the Constitution." "I will tell him everything," replied Statella, "but I cannot give his Majesty my eyes or my ears." In the palace, Statella found General Filangieri, with the ministers assembled in council; and he joined Filangieri in persuading Ferdinand to yield to the wishes of his people. The Duke di Serra Capriola, late lieutenant of Sicily, was accordingly sent for to form a cabinet, to which he invited Bozzelli, the president of the committee at Naples. This choice was intended to conciliate both the Neapolitans and Sicilians, for while the former reposed the utmost confidence in their chosen leader, the Sicilians had not forgotten that Bozzelli had only accepted the presidentship of the committee at Naples, on condition of his followers agreeing to a political separation of Sicily from Naples.

General Filangieri, who had a personal grudge against the minister of police, undertook his dismissal. Del Carretto had always declared, that in spite of appearances, he continued faithful to the liberal principles he had once professed. Poor, and the father of a family, with a mind of extraordinary energy, he had accepted the post of minister of police, when the hard alternative was presented to him of either being persecuted or a persecutor; and he alleged in excuse, that despotism could not last for ever, and that as it was impossible to struggle against Austrian intervention, it was wisest to submit, and place the existing government in the best hands. Though he had employed violent means to repress all attempts at insurrection, he had, on his first accession to power, recalled many to office who had been dismissed in 1821; and desirous of

opening for himself a way to reconciliation with the liberal party, he had blamed the extreme rigour used by General Nunziante and General Landi at Reggio and Messina, though the severities proceeded from military commissions instituted by his orders. In an article by him in the official Gazette, he assumed the merit of dignified silence on the part of the Neapolitan government when attacked by calumny; and asserted that "Naples was advancing without envy or fear in the road of justice and clemency, superior in her institutions to all surrounding countries." Now, however, alarmed by the demonstrations of the last few days, he sent for Mariano d'Ayala, to consult him in the emergency in which he found himself placed. D'Ayala advised him to resign, but Del Carretto declared he could not comprehend how he should have incurred the public odium, as he was free from all reproach of conscience, and had only retained office to restrain violence. Filangieri, willing to increase his mortification, sent for him to the palace, without stating the reason, and on his arrival demanded his sword, and, in the King's name, ordered him to leave the kingdom. A steamer was in readiness, and in spite of Del Carretto's remonstrances and entreaties for an interview with Ferdinand, or even to return home to change his dress, he was hurried on board by a passage leading from the palace to the shore, when the vessel immediately sailed for France. His character was so notorious, that the people at Leghorn, where the steamer touched on the way, refused him fire and water, and on his arrival off Genoa he was not permitted to land. Monsignor Cocle was likewise obliged to make his escape from Naples, followed by the maledictions of the whole city.

The day Del Carretto left Naples, Ferdinand, in a conversation with the representative of England, expressed

his strong disapprobation of the conduct of his late ministers; declaring further, that ever since Sicily had been restored with the kingdom of Naples, the sovereigns had been guilty of a series of wrongs towards the Sicilians, that they had violated the Constitution they had promised to uphold, and destroyed the nationality they had pledged themselves to maintain.[1] The next day he issued a royal proclamation, granting a representative government to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

But meantime General Nunziante, with a strong detachment of troops, had been sent to Messina, where the people had risen in arms against the government. On the 30th January, Désauget was forced to abandon Palermo, but instead of making a garden of the city, as commanded by the King, he had to re-embark his troops in such haste that they were obliged to kill their horses and abandon their guns, leaving nearly three thousand dead and wounded. Nevertheless his soldiers found time to plunder and commit all manner of atrocities on the way, but fiercely repulsed by the peasantry they were many of them massacred in retaliation, or carried away captive, with their mules, horses, and baggage; the line of retreat of the Neapolitan soldiers might be traced by the spectacle of women covered with the blood of their murdered children, hastening from their burning villages to find refuge in Palermo.[2] The general, before his departure, released four thousand galley-slaves, whom he had kept eight-and-forty hours without food, hoping that they would complete the havoc his soldiers had begun. Happily these ruffians were less brutalized than he supposed them to be, and they entered the capital without further mischief.

On the 3d February, a steamer arrived from Naples

[1] *See State Papers, Naples, 1848.* [2] See State Papers, January 1848.

bearing the decree for a general amnesty, with the promise of a constitution which had been published in Naples on the 29th January; but the people refused to accept any constitution as a boon (which they claimed as their right), or to lay down their arms, until a general Parliament had adapted the Sicilian Constitution to the present times and circumstances. The castle capitulated on the 4th February, and Messina was bombarded from her citadel, to the great destruction of foreign merchandise in the town; but the defence, in which even women and children distinguished themselves, was conducted with so much valour, that the soldiers of Nunziante were obliged to yield before the furious attacks of the people. The bombardment, however, continued until March, when the citadel itself would have surrendered, had not an able commander sent there by the King, to supplant the officer by whom it had hitherto been defended, increased the difficulties of an assault; and the rest of the Sicilians, by an unpardonable neglect, or elated by their other victories in Catania, and throughout the island, instead of coming to the aid of the Messinese, allowed the Neapolitans to retain possession of the most important stronghold of Sicily.

Early in February, Lord Minto arrived in Naples, and immediately advised the Government to offer Sicily a modification of the Constitution of 1812. Many of the Sicilians in Naples objected to take the oath to the new Constitution promulgated by the King, and even General Statella only consented to do so under reservation, not to interfere with his right of nationality, and the natural and inalienable obligations to the Constitution of the kingdom of Sicily, his native land.[1]

The ministers referred the composition of the statute

[1] State Papers, Sicily, January 1818.

for Naples to Bozzelli. Never was choice in an important crisis more unfortunate. Too self-sufficient to consult with others in an hour so replete with difficulties that the judgment of the most experienced statesmen might have been at fault, yet with so unstatesmanlike a capacity that he appeared blind to the peculiar circumstances with which he was surrounded, he was only bent on carrying out his own preconceived ideas. Bozzelli, like all who wander from the straight path of rectitude, was incapable of taking a large and comprehensive view for the conduct of the nation, as well as for his own interests. He had no faith in the people for whom he had undertaken to act; he saw them degraded by centuries of oppression; suspicious, boastful, and cowards at heart. Nor could he look below the surface to discover the fire of patriotic virtue smouldering beneath, which he might at once have kindled into a flame. Though desirous of preserving an absolute monarchy in Naples, he could not resolve to abandon his popularity and authority with the liberals, and had therefore worn a mask to his colleagues; and excusing his falsehood to himself under the sophistry of expediency, he had accepted the leadership of a party whose principles he inwardly disclaimed. Called upon, therefore, to frame the statute, he determined to imitate closely the charter of France, already found defective in the country where it originated, interspersing articles taken from that of Belgium, and he made no allowance for the difference of habits and character in the Neapolitan people. By introducing a foreign constitution, he threw the long-cherished hope of Italian unity to a greater distance than before, and with it the independence of the peninsula, to secure which, perfect unanimity or harmony was necessary in the political constitutions of the various *States*. Naples at once passed from the forms of

a pure despotism to those of a representative government, and obtained a free press without even the wholesome restraints imposed in countries which enjoy most liberty. Though all the functionaries were noted for corruption and fraud, and attached to a system opposed to that now introduced, fear of offending the King induced Bozzelli to leave them unchanged; and he congratulated himself on the skill with which he had ingratiated the Constitution with Ferdinand, by laying peculiar stress on the clause which left his Majesty the whole disposal of the land and sea forces.[1] On the 10th February, the Constitution was proclaimed, and the following day a *Te Deum* was performed in all the churches by order of the King, who, with the Queen, in an open carriage, passed in procession through the city, followed by the enthusiastic acclamations of the people. On the 15th, a number of citizens, bearing the Italian banner, presented themselves before the British embassy, to do honour to England in her representative. Lord Napier addressed them from the balcony to this effect: "Happy are these days when Italian liberty and independence are for ever secured. Italian nationality is no longer an affair of sentiment and desire, but a reality. Let all rally round their institutions to secure the triumph against the stranger. Long live the independence of Italy! Long live Ferdinand II.!"[2] The feeling of Italian unity, with hatred to Austria, was displayed in the theatre when loud applause followed the lines of a patriotic hymn, "Viva, viva l'Italia lega! Maledetto l'oltraggio stranier!"

[1] The Article 14 of the French Charter is as follows:—Le roi est le chef suprême de l'Etat; il commande les forces de terre et de mer; déclare la guerre, fait les traités de paix, d'alliance et de commerce; nomme à tous les emplois d'administration publique, et fait les règlements et ordonnances nécessaires à l'exécution des lois, et à la sûreté de l'Etat.—Vaulabelle, Histoire des *Deux Restaurations.*

[2] *Giornale delle Due Sicilie*, 16th February 1848.

The Earl of Minto, who had undertaken the cause of Sicily, was however disappointed in the promised Constitution of the 10th February, which did not prove such as he had been led to expect, since it only allowed one general Parliament for both kingdoms, and therefore held out little hope of justice to the Sicilians. He argued that they had a right to resist the illegal usurpations and establishment of an absolute government in their island, with the suspension of the Constitution of 1812, and could not be treated as a people in rebellion against a legal authority; and he accordingly sent a message to Palermo, that though the Constitution seemed not to agree with the assurances he had already sent them, he would lose no time in appealing to the Government on the subject, since that just published must be understood as applying solely to Naples. He received in reply expressions denoting the confidence of the Sicilian people in the success of his mediation, and in the intentions of the King. On the 12th, Lord Minto wrote home that he had received the formal assurance of the Minister Bozzelli, that the King had entirely assented to the conditions he had proposed, and had urged his departure to Palermo as a messenger of peace; at the same time presenting him with a memorandum to prove to the Sicilians the new Constitution would emanate from the ancient rights of the people, and not be a gift or concession of the King. To Lord Minto's surprise these professions were contradicted in a note of the Duke di Serra Capriola to Lord Napier, asserting, that in the Treaty of Vienna the King was recognised as King of *the kingdom* of the Two Sicilies, to obviate the possibility of the States forming two distinct kingdoms, or the existence of even the germ of a separation in a separate *constitution for Sicily*, which would make that part of the

royal dominions a separate kingdom. Lord Minto vainly protested against this misconstruction of an article in the Treaty of Vienna, and declared his conviction the Sicilians would not listen to any proposals, while the existence of their rights was denied. The ministers appealed to France, but finding no support in M. Bresson, turned again to England; and meantime they endeavoured to prejudice the liberals of Naples against Sicily, by publishing that, indifferent to Italian nationality, the Sicilians were throwing themselves into the arms of England, who, under false pretences, meant to take possession of the island. But the Neapolitans were not so easily duped; they only expressed their indignation at the bad faith of their Government; and the threat of the Sicilians to convoke a Parliament without further delay, induced the Neapolitan Cabinet at length to yield on the question of the right of the people to a Constitution.[1]

On the 24th February, the King and the Royal Princes repeated the farce enacted by Ferdinand I. and Francis, and, with the Ministers, and Officers of the Army, took the oath to the Neapolitan Constitution in the Church of San Francesco di Paolo. All the foreign ministers were present, excepting those of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. The tri-coloured ribbon was attached to the Bourbon standard, but it was observed that the colour denoting Italian unity was still wanting.

About this time, the King frequently sent for Don Saverio Barberisi, already mentioned in the demonstration of the 27th January. He was a learned lawyer, of great age, who had often before been employed to present petitions to his Majesty, and whom Ferdinand therefore called *his old friend.* He now desired from him all the informa-

[1] *Documenti della Guerra Santa d'Italia delle Rivoluzione Siciliane*, 1848, 1849.

tion which could be of service in framing the Constitutional Government. Once when Barberisi stated that the reactionary party was actively spreading a belief that the King was behaving with bad faith, Ferdinand, raising his eyes and hand towards heaven, exclaimed, "Don Saverio, I have sworn to the Constitution, and I will maintain it. If it had not been my wish to give it, I would not have given it."

The composition of the National Parliament now became a question of absorbing interest. The peers, as in the French charter, were to be chosen by the sovereign, and therefore wholly dependent on his will; which, together with his absolute dominion over the army and navy, left his power nearly as uncontrolled as before; while, on the other hand, the people, with an unshackled press, and suddenly almost wholly relieved from the restraint of the police, had been granted license rather than liberty. The danger of excesses from either party was apparent to all men of rational views, as well as the necessity of creating a Chamber of Deputies, which would represent the intellect of the nation, and would modify, if it could not counteract, the evils arising from undue power in the hands of the sovereign and of the populace. To accomplish this, a comprehensive electoral law was needed; for, as land in the kingdom of Naples is divided only among the few, and wealth rare, a high standard would have excluded many most worthy to sit in Parliament, and have rendered the Chamber of Deputies a mere counterpart of the Chamber of Peers. By the law (as first proposed by Bozzelli), men such as Carlo Troya, one of the most distinguished historians of Italy, and soon afterwards minister, with others of learning and ability, but with moderate means, would have been excluded. He was, however, with difficulty persuaded to reduce the franchise of voters to twenty-four ducats, or four pounds

English, and that of candidates for election to two hundred and twenty ducats, or thirty-four pounds; the highest standard admissible under the actual circumstances of the country. The electoral law was published on the 30th February, and the convocation of the Chambers fixed for the 1st of May.

Ten days after the publication of the Neapolitan statute, the King of Sardinia granted his subjects a Constitution, and his example was followed by Tuscany and Rome. This was almost equivalent to a declaration of war against Austria; while the league of Italian princes, by which alone they could hope to resist so formidable an antagonist, was not even commenced.

Meantime England, however sincere in her desire to promote the liberties of Italy, began to perceive that the demand for reform was too closely associated with that for Italian unity and independence. She appears to have encouraged the spirit of freedom less from an interest in the welfare of the people, than from a wish to avert any disturbance in the order of existing governments; and now when it seemed possible that the affairs of Italy might lead to a European war, long contemplated because resolved on by Austria, Prussia, and Russia, she began to hesitate; and Lord Palmerston, writing to the representatives of Great Britain in Turin, Naples, and Florence, urged them to bring matters to a speedy conclusion.[1] The Italians, however, who were buoyed up with the hope of freedom, still trusted for support in the only European power on whom they thought they might confidently rely; and perhaps as much under-estimating the embarrassments to which England would be exposed, as over-estimating her *philanthropy* and sympathy with the oppressed, they did

[1] See Ranalli, *L'Istorie Italiane*, vol. i. p. 353.

not anticipate that she would abandon them at the first sound of danger; while, on the other hand, the despotic powers of Europe, unable to comprehend the wise policy of reform, and dreading the moral influence and time-honoured greatness of England, could as little conceive her shrinking before their menaces, while holding the balance between them and their subjects. Thus she was at once hated by the sovereigns in whose interest she was acting, and trusted by the people she was prepared to abandon.

The part played by France was still less to her honour. A few days before the news reached Paris of the Constitution granted in Naples, Guizot had assured the French Parliament that Italy could not possibly acquire representative governments under twenty years. Anxious to repress a too rapid advance of liberty, lest the infection should spread to France, and lead to the demand for an extension of freedom beyond that judged expedient by a minister of Louis Philippe, he wrote to Rossi in Rome, urging him to persuade the Pontiff, that to make war with the Emperor of Austria would be the ruin of the Catholic religion, of which he was the natural guardian in Italy; and continued thus: "We are at peace and amity with the House of Austria, and desire to remain so; for if that should be interrupted, we shall kindle a general revolution throughout Europe."[1] A few weeks later, Guizot and his master were obliged to fly from Paris, and, to the consternation of all the courts of Europe, a republic was proclaimed in France. The news caused an immense sensation throughout Italy, while Gioberti wrote from Paris, admonishing the princes to acknowledge the French Republic, and not delay granting more democratic institutions to their own subjects; for, "to secure the permanence of

[1] See Ranalli, *L'Istorie Italiane*, vol. i. p. 355.

States, it was necessary that republics should approach monarchies, and monarchies republics."

To return to Naples: On the 1st March, the ministers laid the propositions for Sicily before the King. The clause to which they specially objected was that which prohibited Neapolitan troops being sent to Sicily. The Sicilians, well aware how little the Government could be relied on, justly feared, that should Neapolitan troops again occupy the strongholds from whence they had so recently driven them, they would have no security against the restoration of an absolute government. Lord Minto supported the claims of the Sicilians; and after the question had been discussed five days, without coming to any conclusion, the ministers tendered their resignation: the news of the French Revolution having meantime reached Naples, Ferdinand insisted on their continuing in office; and on the 6th published the decree called "The Concessions of the 6th March," in which he convoked the Sicilian Parliament, as if by a spontaneous act, and appointed Ruggiero Settimo, lieutenant of the island, authorizing him to open the Legislative Chamber on the 25th March. It was vain for Lord Minto still to protest, that while the question of the army was omitted, the terms would not prove acceptable to the Sicilians. He accordingly sailed on the 7th for Palermo, bearing with him the decree of the King, and still hoping to effect an amicable arrangement.[1]

On the 10th, Lord Minto reached Palermo, and presented the King's concessions to the Provisional Government, which was answered by an official bulletin published in that city, declaring any concession to be contrary to the Constitution of 1812, and therefore null and void. Lord

[1] *Documenti della Guerra Santa d'Italia, delle Rivoluzione Siciliane, 1848-49.*

Minto next suggested that the Sicilians should propose their own terms to the King, but earnestly exhorted them to maintain the crown of both kingdoms on one head, and to resign their right to absolute separation, which they claimed by the Constitution of 1812. The Sicilians yielded to his advice, stipulating, however, as an express condition, that the royal troops should, within eight days, evacuate the only two fortresses remaining in their hands within the island, and adding other terms, not exceeding those of the Sicilian Constitution of 1812, which had formerly been acknowledged and ratified by the King. Lord Minto, satisfied with their demands, assured them he would obtain the King's consent within two days.[1]

In Naples, the fact that Austria had, in January, sounded the Pope whether he would permit Austrian troops to cross his territory to enter the kingdom, had got abroad with the exaggerations usual in public reports; it was stoutly denied by the official journal, where it was declared, the King not only would not invite foreigners into his kingdom, but that a "*citizen king and Italian soldier*" would oppose all his forces to a foreign invasion; and a few days later, the formation of an Italian league was declared to be the chief aim of the Government, who had invited the three principal States of Italy to send representatives to meet those of Naples at Rome, to consult for this purpose. The official journal added, that so earnest were the intentions of the King on this head, that the Government was engaged in the consideration of the most efficacious mode of sending immediate aid to their Lombard brethren, and hoped for the support of his Sicilian as well as Neapolitan subjects.[2]

[1] *Documenti della Guerra Santa d'Italia, delle Rivoluzione Siciliane*, 1848-49.
[2] *Giornale delle Due Sicilie.*

Whilst Lord Minto was expecting favourable tidings from Naples, a steamer arrived at Palermo, with a protest, accusing the Sicilians of wishing to disturb the revolution of Italy, and compromise the independence and glorious future of their common country, and concluding by annulling all the acts passed in Sicily. The effect of this protest was, that the general committee ordered the immediate opening of their Parliament, and that Lord Minto returned to Naples on the 28th March, after writing home, that it was impossible to deny the Sicilians had stronger reasons to free themselves from an insufferable tyranny than the English of 1688.

The conduct of the ministers towards Sicily met with such general reprobation,[1] that all of them, with the exception of Bozzelli, felt the necessity of resigning or changing their places in the Cabinet. The new ministers introduced were, Giacomo Savarese, who had been long actively engaged in promoting educational schemes; Colonel Vincenzo degl' Uberti, an ardent patriot and accomplished soldier; Aurelio Saliceti, formerly professor of Jurisprudence in the University Degli Studii, a man of uncompromising rectitude, but united with harsh and austere manners; and Carlo Poerio, who had been Director of Police, under the late cabinet. These men did not enter upon office under favourable auspices, as they shared the increasing unpopularity of Bozzelli, whose name was especially associated with that of Poerio, from their early friendship, from persecution and imprisonment.

However the affairs of Sicily might be regarded in Naples itself, the liberal party throughout Italy earnestly *deprecated* a separation, and cast unjust aspersions upon

[1] See Mascari, Casi di Napoli.

the conduct of the Sicilians, "who," as Lord Minto expressed himself in a letter home, "having by their own courage and unanimity, reconquered their Constitution of 1812, were little disposed to resign their hard-earned right for a precarious participation in the half-won liberties of Naples."[1] But Gioberti, meanwhile, in a letter addressed to Pietro Leopardi, one of the most ardent of the Neapolitan liberals, wrote in eloquent terms on the advantages arising from the union of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and his opinion alone was sufficient to turn the balance against the Sicilians.

Naples had lately been frequently disturbed upon the smallest cause of excitement, and was now the constant scene of tumults and demonstrations. Though there was no extraordinary increase of crime within the city, there were rumours of communistic ideas spreading in the provinces, and as the ordinary restraint of the police had been removed, and the gendarmes had been disbanded, the citizens eagerly demanded a national guard, for the protection of their lives and property. Prior to the Constitution there had been a guard of safety in Naples, under the command of the Prince of Salerno, uncle to the King, and wholly dependent on the minister of police: this continued to exist, but no sooner did the Prince learn the wishes of the people, than, expressing his entire approbation of their demand, he resigned his office. The ministers then issued a provisional law for the levy of the new corps; but so ill conceived, and so hastily executed, that it only tended to augment the evil it was intended to remedy. There was but one man in the Cabinet with powers of organization, capable of applying the true remedy to this

[1] See "Letter of Lord Minto on the Difficulties of a Legislative Union of the Two Sicilies." *State Papers*, Sicily 1813.

and other disorders; and that man was Saliceti. Before 1848, he had filled the high office of a judge with honour to himself and others, and he had never been ambitious of political honours. When Ferdinand, therefore, first drew him from the line of life he had chosen, by appointing him Intendente at Salerno, Saliceti remonstrated with the King, and entreated to be allowed to continue in his magisterial capacity. Ferdinand replied, he required his services to establish the new order of things; upon which Saliceti abruptly asked, if it were really his Majesty's intention to carry out the statute? and the King answered; "If I had not intended to carry it out, I would not have granted it. I propose to see it carried into effect as quickly as possible, and I therefore require able and energetic Intendentes in the provinces." A few days later, the Intendente of Salerno was appointed minister of justice, but, little practised in the manner of courts, he offended Ferdinand by his plain speaking, and his colleagues, by his endeavours to rouse them to more energetic action, and to the reform of the law tribunals, as well as to render the Constitution a reality. They represented him to the King as imbued with republican principles, and even insinuated a resemblance in his features to those of Robespierre. An opportunity for his fall was not long in presenting itself.

The question of tolerating the Order of St. Ignatius again agitated Europe, when the intrigues of the Jesuits in Switzerland occasioned their banishment, after a short but resolute conflict between the cantons in which both parties firmly rejected the interference of foreign powers. The protection afforded the Order by Austria, and the attacks of Gioberti, had long identified their cause with *that of* despotism in Italy. Two fathers, Pellico and *Curci*, undertook to reply to the "Prolegomeni al Primato."

and Gioberti answered, in another publication, the "*Gesuito Moderno.*" This work was eagerly read by young and old, men and women, and even by a great part of the clergy, who were desirous of separating the question of the Church from that of the Jesuits. The news of the victories in Switzerland were celebrated as national victories in Rome. The Jesuits were driven by violence out of Sardinia, and the Neapolitans, incensed by Father Curci being a resident in their city, rose in a tumult, and threatened an attack on the monasteries of the Order. Saliceti advised their banishment, and was supported by a minority in the council of ministers, but the majority of his colleagues negatived the motion, and even accused him of wishing to court the favour of the people. At last they determined on a middle course, and proposed to banish all foreign Jesuits, and confine native Jesuits to the precincts of their monasteries. But on the evening of the 9th March, the friars were besieged in their houses by thousands of the students and rabble, and, during two days and nights, were with difficulty protected by the national guards. On the 12th, Bozzelli yielded to this popular outcry, and had all the Jesuits conveyed in close carriages to the shore, from whence they embarked on the 13th. Bozzelli had openly expressed his opinion, that no government could manage the Neapolitans, except that of Del Carretto, and he took this opportunity to propose a provisional law, that when a mob did not disperse after three warnings, the public officers should be empowered to fire on the people. Saliceti opposed this, on the ground that it was contrary to the laws of the country, as well as an act of imprudence, thus to cause the death of the innocent as well as the guilty, and maintained that the police and *troops were already* sufficient to prevent crime, and keep

order, without a constitutional government adding severity of the laws existing under an absolute ment; while, by effectually carrying out the Const the minister would put an end to the cause o disturbances. Bozzelli's motion was therefore mously rejected.

The next day, Saliceti wrote to the Duke of Capriola to excuse his attendance at the council, as confined to bed with illness; to which the president that he must either attend or resign, for, as he h seals, his presence was indispensable. Saliceti w forced to quit the Cabinet, upon which Poerio, and Degl' Uberti offered likewise to tender their r tions, but were persuaded to remain, greatly to th of their own popularity, as their names were thus as with a cabinet whose good faith was suspected. from a useful and laborious minister, now invol became a centre of agitation for all who hated the Government, as the people attributed his resign his devotion to their cause; and, as if purposely to this impression, the gendarmes were restored imm afterwards, though under a different name and unif

News of revolutions in Vienna, Berlin, and la Milan, quickly succeeded one another. The det tion of the young men at Milan to refrain from s thus imitating the example of the Americans of 1 resigning the use of an article, the duty on which fu a large item in the Government taxes, and an insu among the students at Pavia, were the sparks lighted the conflagration in Lombardy in Januar A conflict took place between the people and the soldiers, who were excited by an inflammatory addr their commander, Field-Marshal Radetzky; the t

the Emperor were forced to retire into the citadel, and finally driven from the town. Great was the excitement throughout Italy, at this first discomfiture of the common enemy; the arms of Austria were torn down from the houses inhabited by her representatives in Genoa, Turin, Florence, and Rome, while the *Te Deum* was chanted in many of the churches, and the Italian governments as well as States testified their sympathy in the victory of the people. The whole of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom followed the example of Milan; and Parma and Modena rose against the Austrian troops, who offered a stout resistance, but were finally withdrawn to swell the army before Verona, leaving the petty sovereigns of these duchies to the mercy of their injured subjects. Bologna was the first city in the States of the Church to demand arms to assist the Modenese against the Austrians, and the excitement soon spread to Rome itself. The arms of Austria were burned at Naples, and Prince Schwarzenberg, the Austrian minister at that Court, took his departure some days later, leaving in his place (though not officially ambassador) the Prince of Lebzeltern, an old friend of Metternich.

The Sicilian Parliament was opened in great state, on on the 25th March, by Don Ruggiero Settimo, President of the General Committee of Palermo. He was the next day chosen President of the Government of Sicily, responsible himself, and with the choice of responsible ministers. On the 13th April, the Sicilian Parliament declared Ferdinand of Bourbon, and his heirs, fallen from the throne of Sicily, the Government constitutional, and that after the statute had been remodelled, an Italian prince should be invited to fill the vacant throne. The citadel of Messina had continued during the intervening months to throw *shells upon the city*, and the Sicilians, while remarking

that the liberal ministers of Naples surpassed their predecessors in their proofs of enmity, bestowed the surname of Bomba upon Ferdinand. The wildest demonstrations of joy throughout the island welcomed the tidings of his deposition. The subsequent three months were occupied in the compilation of the statute, which they endeavoured to approximate to those of the other States of Italy. France and England recognised the freedom and independence of Sicily, but the exclusively monarchical predilections of England, would not permit her to sanction another republic in Europe; therefore, though the news of the deposition of Ferdinand was well received by both powers, they only promised an official recognition when the new king had been chosen, on which event the Vice-Admirals Baudin and Parker were ordered to salute the Sicilian flag.

While this was passing in the south, Mazzini, trusting to the assurances and promises of Republican France, was already in Milan; while Gioberti, though still in Paris, exhorted the Italian people to establish a monarchical government in the north of Italy, as the only sure barrier against so vast a power as Austria. The moment appeared propitious for Charles-Albert to deal a death-blow at the enemy of his country and of himself, to gratify the ambition of his House, and grasp the rich prize of Lombardy. Threatened with republicanism within his own dominions, he believed he had only to proclaim himself the champion of Italy to establish a kingdom in Lombardy, and thus crush the hopes of the republican party in Sardinia as well as in the rest of Italy; but with no pretext for a war with Austria, opposed in his projects by English diplomacy, with a stigma still resting on his name from 1821, and his army for the most part composed of raw volunteers,

he was still hestitating on his course of action, when Radetzky, withdrawing his troops from Milan, found time to collect them on the line of the Mincio.

The most vehement politicians of Naples meantime were openly holding meetings in the Caffé Buono, situated in a central part of the city. Those who attended these meetings were chiefly young men who were purposely led on and excited by creatures of the former police, since proved to have been in the pay of Austria.[1] Collecting in groups beneath the balconies of the King and of the Minister, they shouted, "Down with the traitors! down with Bozzelli!" while no attempt was made to stop them. Among the liberals exiled in 1834, and who had only lately returned from Paris, was Pietro Leopardi; a few days afterwards he visited his old friend Bozzelli, and found him in great excitement against his opponents, calling them a handful of factious partisans, while speaking with the most extravagant encomiums of the King, and comparing him to Trajan and Titus. When Leopardi left him he was impressed with the idea that he had lost his reason: that evening he paid a visit to Carlo Poerio, who, being slightly indisposed, and glad of any excuse not to attend the council of ministers, where he felt he could do no good, was confined to bed: among others, Leopardi found there Count Francesco del Balzo, husband of the queen-mother, and he related, before the assembled company, his conversation of the morning with Bozzelli. As he departed, Carlo Poerio whispered in his ear, "He is not mad, but flattered by the caresses of royalty, and if some remedy be not applied, he will yet do more harm than he has already done."[2]

War was the universal cry, and was heard beneath the

[1] See *Fatti del* 1848, Massari.

[2] *Narrazioni Storiche di Piersilvestro* Leopardi, pp. 94, 95.

windows of the palace, where the people demanded arms to assist their brethren in Lombardy. An army of volunteers, under General Durando and Colonel Ferrari, had already left Rome, and had received the benediction of the Pope before their departure, and even the Grand Duke of Tuscany, though allied by ties of kindred with the imperial family, had yielded to the wishes of his people, and sent troops to the frontiers. Ferdinand promised a Neapolitan contingent of forty thousand men, part of whom were to be sent by sea to Venice, and the rest to follow with as little loss of time as possible, through the Venetian territories, and join the Sardinians, Romans, and Tuscans in Lombardy.

The ministers, unable any longer to withstand the popular outcry, resigned, and the King sent to Francesco Pignatelli, Prince of Strongoli, to form a new cabinet. The liberals were desirous of seeing Saliceti restored to power, but to this Ferdinand would not consent. Thereupon appeared the Programma Saliceti, in which, with the assistance of his friends, the late Minister of Justice drew up a memorial of his views for the future government of the country. He demanded that the Chamber of Peers should be suspended until the Chamber of Deputies had agreed with the King on the constitution of the Upper Chamber; that there should be a further reform of the electoral law; that the communal, district, and provincial councils should be renewed; and that the popular assemblies, anciently called parliaments, should be revived, until the promulgation of a new administrative law be demanded; that there should be reforms in the civil, military, and judiciary appointments, according to the spirit of existing laws; and the National Guard organized; finally, that a political league with Italy should be established, for which,

if required, plenipotentiaries were to be sent to Rome, and an army and fleet to be immediately sent to assist in the war of independence.

On the 23d March, the King of Sardinia declared war against Austria, and his troops crossed the frontiers to the aid of the Lombard people. The news were brought to Naples by Professor Antonio Scialoia, a young man highly reputed for his learning and zeal, who now accompanied General William Pepe on his return to his country after an exile of twenty-seven years. Ferdinand, who had recalled Pepe at the instance of the National Guards, sent one of his own vessels to meet him, and, on his arrival, General Nunziante invited him to the palace. The King, while receiving him with the most extravagant marks of respect, vainly endeavoured to deceive the old general by the flattering his vanity. To words and actions of courtesy, he added more substantial favours, and reinstated him in his rank in the army, while he insisted on his accompanying him to military reviews and exercises.

The arrival of Pepe had disconcerted all the schemes for the new ministry, and Ferdinand now sent Bozzelli to the General with a request that he would undertake to form the Cabinet. The offer was accepted, but with conditions exactly corresponding with those contained in the Programma Saliceti; which were as displeasing to the King as to Bozzelli, who found himself excluded from the list of proposed ministers. Ferdinand accordingly offered Pepe the command of the troops destined to march to the Po; thus at once ridding himself of a troublesome adviser, and increasing his own popularity, without offending Austria by a direct declaration of war. The plan for the new Cabinet was now resumed, and the exclusion of Saliceti having been agreed to, the official Gazette published the names of

the ministers on the 3d April. The historian, Carlo Troya, was named as president; he had been an exile in 1821, and had returned to Naples in 1831. Since then he had been engaged in the publication of a newspaper, *Il Tempo*, at that time among the best periodicals of the day, but afterwards, when abandoned by its original founders, converted into a servile ministerial paper. Troya, though mild in his manners, was reputed to unite dauntless courage with the strictest integrity. His colleagues were the Marquis Dragonetti, Professor Antonio Scialoia, Paolo Emilio Imbriani, brother-in-law of Carlo Poerio and a distinguished lawyer, Raffaello Conforti, likewise eminent in law, and Francesco Paolo Ruggiero, a noted liberal, and already mentioned as having been formerly employed by the committee at Naples, to establish the lines of communication with the liberals throughout Italy. The day they entered upon office, the ministers published their programme, the principal articles of which were: a resolution to co-operate in the Italian war; to introduce a better system of administration in the provinces, and to reform the electoral law; and (more important than all) that the Chamber of Deputies was to be empowered to explain and amend the statute. Leopardi was immediately afterwards sent as minister-plenipotentiary to the Court of Sardinia.

The extravagant eulogiums passed on Charles-Albert by the press roused the jealousy of other Italian princes, who feared the creation of a Piedmontese party in their dominions to proclaim him King of Italy. Ferdinand, who perceived the power of Austria on the wane, thought his safest course might be to endeavour to weaken the influence of the King of Sardinia by emulating him in apparent zeal to assist in the Italian war. He was, however, *discouraged* in this policy by England, who, now alarmed

at the prospect of a European war, did all in her power to prevent the Italians using the sole means by which they could have hoped to destroy that obstacle to their independence, which converted every attempt at reform into a mere *ignis fatuus*. Charles-Albert was the sole leader to whom the people could look in their emergency, for he alone, from interested as well as patriotic motives, was sincerely attached to the cause of Italy, and opposed to Austria. But England, who was in the anomalous position of being at once the friend of liberty and the friend and ally of despotic Austria (to whom she was bound by her aristocratic tendencies, as well as by her commercial dread of war), England now threw every difficulty in the way of sending aid to the Sardinian King. Charles-Albert had likewise to encounter in Ferdinand a jealous rival, secretly attached to Austria, and armed with the plausible excuse that he ought not, contrary to the advice of England, to involve Naples in a war, solely to promote the interests of the King of Piedmont, and, therefore, that he must first be consulted as to the plan and aim of the campaign. Though overruled by Troya, whose advice was seconded by Ferdinand's own desire to stand well with the Italian people, the King (never sincere in his warlike professions) was supported in his opinion by one minister in the cabinet, Francesco Paolo Ruggiero; the disputes which followed ended in the resignation of Ruggiero and of his principal antagonist, Imbriani. Ferdinand published a manifesto on the 7th April, where, styling himself *Italiano e Soldato*, he set forth his determination to co-operate with energy in the triumph of national independence, and in spite of the remonstrances of the British minister in Naples, who reminded him of the integrity of territories guaranteed by treaties, and belonging to a power friendly

to Great Britain, the King, yielding to the persuasions of his ministers, allowed the 10th of the line to embark for Leghorn as a reinforcement to the Tuscan troops. Imbriani, indignant at having been forced to quit office, made the whole affair public, and, in so doing, exposed the real incapacity of the Government to furnish the supply needed for the war, and thus weakened the cause he desired to uphold. Meanwhile, at the very time when the troops who had already joined the Tuscans received orders forbidding them to cross the Po, Pietro Leopardi arrived in the camp of Charles-Albert to watch over the interests of the Neapolitans; and while the ministers empowered Leopardi to conclude an offensive and defensive league with the King of Sardinia, the letter containing his instructions was detained, and he was reproved for having replied to a despatch from the Governor of Milan. Thus it was evident that there existed two governments in Naples counteracting one another; one open and avowed, the other secret.

The King meanwhile always discovered some reason to delay the departure of the troops for the North. The convoy-ships were not ready; objections were raised against landing the soldiers at Venice, and Ancona was considered more desirable; in place of forty thousand, hardly twelve thousand men at length received orders to start, and during these delays, the Austrian General Nugent, had found time to advance his armies into Italy, for Ferdinand had better information than his ministers of the movements of the enemy. The maritime forces of Charles-Albert at Venice not being sufficient to oppose those of Austria, one of the Venetian leaders, Niccolo Tommaseo, wrote to Alessandro Poerio, brother of Carlo, entreating him at least to procure for them one Neapolitan

steamer. Poerio, with some difficulty, succeeded in his endeavours to obtain permission for the fleet under Admiral de Cosa to set sail; but the King is said to have addressed these farewell words privately to the Admiral: "Remember you are old and have a family;" adding injunctions not to attack the Austrians. This story was corroborated by an incident in the commencement of their voyage. The ships remaining some days off Ancona, and their van wishing to move to the attack of an Austrian vessel, which hove in sight within a few miles of their anchorage, they were restrained by orders from the Admiral. Pepe, with a detachment of his troops, was at length allowed to depart; but before leaving, Ferdinand addressed them in a proclamation, declaring "The fate of the common country was to be decided on the plains of Lombardy, and that it was the duty of every Italian prince and people to assist in so glorious a work." The General proceeded to Ancona, where he waited the arrival of his battalions. His general of division, Statella, aware of the disposition of the troops (who, trained by the King for his service alone, and their ears poisoned by false rumours, were averse to the war), feared or imagined signs of mutiny and conspiracy, and urged Pepe to retire towards the frontiers; but the Commander-in-chief indignantly repudiated the idea, and ordered Statella to Bologna to join the first division assembling there, proceed with them to Ferrara, and cross the Po at Francolino.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

1848-1856.

Encyclica of Pius—Elections for the Parliament—State of Naples—Barricades—Massacres of the 15th May—Triumph of the King—Change of Ministers—Recall of troops to Naples—Insurrection in Calabria—Opening of the Neapolitan Parliament—The Sicilians choose the Duke of Genoa for their king—Addresses of the Neapolitan Parliament to Ferdinand—Disturbances in Naples—Bombardment of Messina—Gioberti in Turin—Arrival of the Popeat Gaeta—French troops sent to Civita Vecchia—Letter of Carlo Poerio—Pius and Antonelli at Gaeta—The Neapolitan Parliament dissolved—Fall of Sicily—Deaths of Gioberti and Charles-Albert—Arrests in Naples—Fall of Venice—Final settlement of Sicily—The Pope visits Naples—He returns to Rome—Trial of those accused of belonging to the Society of Italian Unity—Their condemnation—Number of arrests in Naples—Number of victims throughout Italy—Memoranda of Mr. Petre on the state of Naples—Death of Ferdinand II.—Accession of Francis II.—Conclusion.

THE ministers in Naples appointed a commission to compose a new electoral law, and fixed the day of election for the 15th April. The organization of the National Guard was rapidly completed, new magistrates appointed, and old functionaries removed, while an improved system of administration was introduced into the provinces. Prince Cariati, as foreign minister, had sent a deputation to Pius to persuade him to sanction the proposed confederation of Italian states, with a diet to meet at Rome. The proposed measure was, however, defeated, owing chiefly to Count Ludolf, who was allowed to retain his office of Neapolitan ambassador at the Papal Court after his Government had changed its character and policy. Tuscany, in fact, was

the only State sincerely desirous of the success of the league, as even Charles-Albert, who had just crossed the Ticino, began to aspire at a single-handed conquest, and refused to consider the proposal until the Austrians had been driven from Italy.

The Roman people meantime were daily becoming more desirous the Pope should formally declare war against Austria, as, until Pius had signified his intentions, their friends and relatives fighting in Lombardy were in danger of being treated by the Austrians as rebels to their own sovereign. Pius, who had never been favourably inclined towards the war, had lately been menaced with schism by the Catholic Church of Germany. His ministers appealed for advice to Pellegrino Rossi, who replied, "That the desire to see Italy liberated from the stranger was now so strong, that either the Pope must proclaim war, or the hostile parties would turn against him and the Papacy." A petition was accordingly drawn up, to which Pius replied by summoning a consistory to meet on the 29th April, where he read his Encyclica, since so famous throughout Europe. He stated, "That for a long time past he had been aware of his name having been used for an enterprise, which he had never so much as conceived; his sole intention having been gradually to introduce reforms in his internal administration. In the hope of preventing serious disorders, or even bloodshed, he had remained silent; but as he was now urged to take part in an unjust war, contrary to his dignity as head of a religion which desired war to no one, and enjoined him to consider all men equally his children, he neither could nor ought longer to refrain from speaking; and while solemnly protesting that he was adverse to the war, to inform them he had consented to the *departure of the* pontifical subjects from Rome to the con-

fines, because he was unable to forbid armed men hastening to the conflict; but that General Durando, to whom he had only granted permission to guard their frontiers, had crossed the Po contrary to his orders."

All Rome was indignant at the tidings of the Encyclica. The friends and relatives of the absent, filled with consternation, menaced the Cardinals and prelates who were supposed to have instigated the Pope, with death. The leaders of the political factions assembled and harangued their followers, while Pius, exclaiming against the ingratitude of the people, declared his resolution not to revoke his words. Fear of rebellion at length induced him to invite Terenzo Mammiani, the leader of the moderate liberals, to form a new cabinet, and he despatched an envoy to the camp of Charles-Albert to prevent the danger feared for the Roman soldiers. The day of the publication of the Encyclica, Gioberti arrived at Turin, and without making any special allusion to the event, altered his tone when speaking of the Pontiff, and advocated the separation of the secular from the spiritual authority. The decline of the cause of Italy may be dated from the 29th April, when the first blow was struck by the hand which had beckoned on the friends of liberty; but the presence of the rival leaders, Mazzini and Gioberti, on Italian ground, by increasing party violence, contributed to the destruction of the hopes both had so fondly cherished.

Naples meantime was a prey to democratic agitators, and the minister vainly applied for military assistance to the King. The few soldiers who made their appearance were exposed to insults from the mob, while the agents of Ferdinand persuaded the troops the existence of an army was considered by the people incompatible with a constitution. The violent abuse of the army, indulged in by the

press, made these falsehoods appear truth, and thus every means was employed to sow dissension between the soldiers and the people.

The elections, as appointed, had taken place on the 15th April. They were conducted with perfect sobriety. A hundred and twenty-five thousand electors assembled in various parts of the kingdom without causing any disturbance, and the choice of representatives did honour to the country. Few of those professing ultra-opinions were returned, while men of high intellectual attainments, as well as moral worth, such as Capitelli, the leader of the constitutional party, Scialoia, Piscanelli, Pica, &c., were sent up triumphantly to Parliament. As the elections were not all completed on the 15th April, the opening of Parliament was postponed from the 1st to the 15th May.

No means were omitted on either side to excite the passions of the multitude in the metropolis. A self-constituted tribunal, under the name of "*The Supreme Court of Magistracy*," informed the people by a proclamation, "That Del Carretto, Sant' Angelo, Father Cocle, and others equally detested, were receiving their full salaries from the King, and that Carretto was not only in Naples, but had slept one night in the palace." The citizens were warned "to beware of an infamous propaganda which was exciting the royalists by promises and bribes to prepare for a work of destruction; they were reminded of past experience, of prison, exile, the axe, and the gallows, and bid to expect no mercy, but arm for the preservation of their lives, property, and religion." At the same time the Propaganda, composed of the emissaries of the King's party, were occupied spreading reports that religion was in danger, and describing the liberals as enemies of the prince *and of the altar*, intending to murder the King, and set up

the Duke of Calabria in his stead. The priests were not behindhand in lending their assistance to the work; for on the day of St. Januarius, the miracle refused to act, and only yielded, when a deputation of the national guard persuaded the archbishop to intercede with Heaven. Ferdinand had contrived to introduce some of his devoted adherents (men known as worthless characters) into the national guard. This reaching the ears of the democratic party, they proposed to the ministers that a select legion should be formed of those faithful to the Constitution, and if any who remained refused to lay down their arms, or were proved traitors, to order them to be immediately shot. But such severe and prompt measures did not accord with the mild temper of those who held the reins of Government, and who were losing the confidence of the people, while trusting with almost weak credulity to the King: added to which, instead of firmly insisting on compliance with the laws, they published edicts entreating the people to pay the taxes, not to refuse to assist the treasury, and to cease from frauds; assuring them, that if the citizens would contribute their share, a large reinforcement by sea and land should be immediately sent to the war in Lombardy.

On one side, a crafty king, surrounded by well-meaning philosophers rather than statesmen, a soldiery devoted to the sovereign, and irritated against the people, and a people by nature inflammable, and rendered doubly so by malicious falsehoods; on the other, a small number of high-minded, deep-thinking patriots, elate with the hope of a representative government almost within their grasp, yet jealous of losing the advantage so dearly bought; such was the state of Naples, when, a few days before the opening of Parliament, the ministers composed the programme for the ceremony of inauguration. In the oath to the King

and Constitution, they, however, proposed to omit that important clause by which they had declared in their manifesto of the 3d April, the Chamber of Deputies empowered to explain and amend the fundamental statute, especially that part which related to the Chamber of Peers. On the arrival of the deputies in Naples they received a circular, requiring their attendance at a meeting, on the 13th May, in the Town-Hall, or Palace of Mont-Oliveto, to acquaint them with the plan of proceedings on the occasion of the opening of Parliament. In this meeting they were informed that a royal proclamation was then printing, requiring them to take the oath to the King, and though the wording was not given, it was signified to them that the statute of the 10th February, by which the Parliament were not permitted to decide on the constitution of the House of Peers, was to be maintained. Alarmed at this suggestion, a message was sent to the ministers, and a satisfactory answer was returned; for the deputies were assured their fears were groundless, since the King had readily assented to the arrangements proposed by his ministers, in which the oath did not omit the clause to which they attached so much importance. This declaration was contradicted by the official Gazette of that evening, in which the programme appeared with the omission they had anticipated; but it was not countersigned by the ministers, as it had been printed by the King without their knowledge. The deputies met again on the evening of the 14th, and again communicated with the ministers and the King; and the Cabinet, finding it impossible to come to an understanding with his Majesty, offered to resign: but at a late hour of the night, the King sent a message, by which he consented to open Parliament, and omit the oath *altogether* until the united legislature had decided

upon the form.[1] Meantime Ferdinand, without consulting the minister of war, ordered the principal places of the city to be occupied by troops of the line, an order which was quietly carried into effect. The deputies were about to disperse, when La Cecilia, a colonel in the national guards, and a man of ultra-democratic opinions, rushed into the hall, declaring that the troops had been called out and were about to march down upon them. He then hastened into the streets, where the populace were collected in a state of excitement watching the proceedings of the deputies, and spreading the same false information there, urged them at once to construct barricades. All had until then been perfectly tranquil in the city, but the terrified people now eagerly set to work, and seizing on the carriages of unsuspecting passengers, and everything on which they could lay their hands, soon threw up barricades along the street of Toledo, and prepared for defence. A commission from the deputies was sent in all haste to appease the agitation, and announce that the King had yielded to their wishes respecting the oath, at the same time recommending every one to return home. Many complied, and the national guard dispersed, only a few remaining under arms for the night. The ministers whose resignation had not been accepted, petitioned Ferdinand to allay all further irritation, by ordering the soldiers to return to their quarters; but he replied, it would not be consistent with their honour to retire, until the barricades had been removed.

On the morning of the terrible 15th May, the deputies again met at Mont-Oliveto, preparatory to the opening of Parliament, and the ministers went to the King to request his signature to a proclamation, confirming the concession

[1] See *North British Review*, February 1858.

he had made the previous night; but they found he had again changed his mind; about eleven o'clock, however, he yielded, the proclamation was sent to the printer, and an order issued that the troops should be withdrawn to their barracks. Meanwhile, General Gabriel Pepe, who commanded the national guards, had attempted to remove the barricades nearest the palace, but could not succeed; his life was threatened, aimed at (according to General Gabriel Pepe's own statement) by Merenda, secretary of the Neapolitan police, and he was called a traitor to the people's cause. Ferdinand was meantime secretly preparing to leave Naples, and some of the effects of the royal family had already been carried on board ship, when the King delayed his departure, that he might attend a mass to the Virgin. Just then the first shot was fired from the barricades, and the man who fired it is stated by Merenda to have been a servant of Don Leopold, Prince of Salerno, uncle to the King.[1] The royal guards immediately levelled their guns at the people, and began an attack upon the barricades, which were defended by not more than five hundred men, the rest having dispersed the night before. Only a few of the national guards were at first engaged behind the barricades, but their comrades hastening to their aid, the battle began in good earnest. Victory was at first doubtful; and the royal troops were giving way, when they were joined by a detachment of Swiss mercenaries. Feigning themselves friends of the people, some of the Swiss officers gained access behind the barricades, where they swore on their crosses of honour never to bear arms against the citizens; but having ascer-

[1] See Extracts from the Manual of Private Instruction to the Police, issued by the King of Naples, in a pamphlet entitled *Carlo Poerio and the Neapolitan Police* —Note, *pp. 60, 61.*

tained the weakness and bad construction of these defences, they returned to their men and furiously assaulted the people. The red flag was hoisted on the castles as a signal of war, and their guns commenced firing on the city; all except that of Sant' Elmo, from which General Ruberti only discharged blank ammunition. The feeble barricades soon gave way, and their defenders fled to their houses for shelter, and fired from their windows at the advancing troops, many of whom fell, and among them eighteen Swiss officers. The conflict soon became a massacre, as the soldiers broke into all the shops and houses, and spared neither age nor sex. The gendarmes meantime remained passive, and even offered their services to protect the deputies, who, however, refused, saying they would trust to no protection but the dignity of their office.

All was terror within the palace, where the King was in trembling alarm, until, learning the success of his troops, the royal courage revived. Vainly did the ministers Conforti, Dragonetti, and Scialoia, earnestly implore Ferdinand to stop the slaughter, and order the troops who were already victorious to return to their quarters. Scialoia, fearless of the King's anger, was boldly remonstrating with him, when Ferdinand replied, "The time for clemency is past, and the people must now render up an account for their actions." The ministers were forced to leave the palace without success, and with difficulty escaped the balls of the soldiers, who surrounded the palace of Mont-Oliveto, threatening the deputies with death. A committee of public safety was formed, who sent deputations to the governor of the city, the ministers, and the French admiral (who with two large men-of-war was anchored in the port), petitioning for aid to stop the massacre; but only obtained from this last, a request to Ferdinand, urging clemency.

Towards evening the King sent a verbal message, ordering the deputies to withdraw, but their president refused to obey, unless he received the order in writing. The messenger replied that if they did not disperse, force would be used, when, before resigning, the president drew up a dignified protest against the arbitrary conduct of the Government, "who had attacked the rights of the elected of the nation by fire and sword, had stifled liberty, and betrayed the Constitution." This protest was signed by sixty-seven deputies, to whose names were subsequently added those of Giuseppe Massari, at that time absent in Piedmont, and Girolamo Ulloa, who was with the army at Bologna.

The massacre meantime continued with unabated violence. Men, women, and children were thrown from the windows, or dropped into wells, and the sick and infirm stabbed in their beds. Those who were only half killed by the bayonets of the Swiss soldiers or the knives of the Lazzaroni (who had joined in the work of pillage and butchery), perished in the flames of their own houses. The Palace Gravina was sacked and burned, and as the Swiss advanced from house to house they always left the Lazzaroni to complete their work; these last were seen carrying off pianos, watches, and other furniture and articles of value, and fighting with one another for their booty, much of which they disposed of the next day for trifling sums. The houses of the liberals were especially marked for destruction: three times that day the assassins entered the dwelling of Saliceti in vain search for him, and when asked why they were so inveterate against a man who had never injured them, they replied, "We have promised his head to the King." The cry of "Viva il Rè!" *rose amidst the yells* of the Lazzaroni and the shrieks of

the victims. Any of the national guards who were taken with arms in their hands were hurried to the fosse of Castel Nuovo, and were there shot in cold blood during the night of the 15th and 16th May, to the number of at least twenty, while fathers were forced to witness the death of their children before they were themselves murdered. The fray had commenced at half-past eleven of that morning, and it was night before the massacre ceased; yet during all these hours, the King had refused by word or sign to stop the slaughter.

The Representatives of Foreign Powers, who had fled for safety to the palace, did not attempt to interfere in the councils of the King; there were, however, two exceptions, Lord Napier and the Spanish Ambassador, both of whom, it is said, urged Ferdinand to be firm, and not recall the troops until he had crushed the republican party, when he might safely resume his constitutional government: yet the elections had proved the republican party weak and unimportant; they had not even material force on their side, for the Lazzaroni and the troops were with the King; they had no skilful leader, as was proved by the weak construction of the barricades, as well as the total want of organization in those who defended them, and if the people had been misled by violent demagogues, none had yet attempted to undeceive them; the republicans could only form a fraction of that middle class, which constitutes the best and most enlightened portion of the community in every nation; yet it was this class, and of both sexes and all ages, whose massacre was perpetrated in the streets of Naples, which were now reeking with their blood, and strewed with mutilated and bleeding corpses; *while* amidst the groans of dying men were heard the *shouts* and ribaldry of the soldiers and mob. The triumph

of the reactionary party was complete; but the atrocious means could not even be justified by success; for if order was restored, it was an order founded on cruelty, injustice, and perjury, and so hollow that those who most desired to believe in it, proved their scepticism by their acts; while loyalty, that misnamed virtue, when signifying the attachment to an individual irrespective of character, yet so necessary for the maintenance of the executive power, whether vested in a king or president, could no longer exist in Naples, except among the lowest and most despicable of the populace. Amidst the prevailing grief and terror, the hope and spirit of the people was for the moment crushed with the gloomy reflection, that the liberty for which they had so long panted, and for which their noblest blood had been given, was lost almost as soon as won.

The calamity was so sudden and unexpected, that it required time for men to recover sufficiently from the blow, to inquire the cause. Rumours were afloat that Prince Lebzeltern, the Austrian Minister at Naples, had held secret conferences at his house for several previous days; that it had been observed that the soldiers had become more insolent in their behaviour; and it was even said the creatures of the Prince had been seen assisting at the barricades, but all was matter of conjecture. No doubt, however, could exist that the populace and the soldiers had been prepared for acts of violence by the ultra-democratic party, as well as by the royal emissaries, and that the King had been long resolved, at whatever cost, to regain the power he had so reluctantly resigned. With some feeling of shame, Ferdinand endeavoured to apologize to foreign courts for the massacre of his own subjects, by alleging he had *acted in self-defence*; but the apology was not needed, for

the only notice taken by the Governments of France or England of this second St. Bartholomew, was a demand for compensation to the subjects of their respective countries, whose property had been injured. The King had ascertained two facts by the massacre of the 15th May—that the soldiers were wholly subservient to his will, and that the people were less strong and combined than he had until then believed them.

One of the first acts of Ferdinand was, strange to relate, to set about seven hundred prisoners at liberty; he next ordered a court of inquiry into the cause of the conflict of the 15th May, which, after the examination of many witnesses, ended by a declaration of the Procurator-general, "That all further research to arrive at the origin of that untoward event, would lead to discoveries displeasing to the Government;" and the report of the court of inquiry having been sent up to the Great Court, the question was decided a few months later by the opinions of the President and Procurator-general, that the events of the 15th May would not admit of a criminal prosecution.[1] Emboldened by the Encyclica of Pius, Ferdinand was prepared to stop the subsidy promised to Piedmont. He dismissed his ministers, but instead of recalling Del Carretto to power, he summoned Prince Cariati to form a new cabinet, of which the most efficient members were Bozzelli and Ruggiero. The day following the massacre he issued a manifesto, composed by Bozzelli, in which he promised to re-assemble the Parliament, and expressed his conviction that his best security for the re-organization of the State lay in their wisdom, "by which those principles of order, legality, and the welfare of the people, which are the chief *objects* for care by the King's government, might be

[1] See *North British* Review, February 1858, p. 43.

strengthened." The next day this manifesto was cancelled, the national guard disbanded, and martial law declared; the electoral law of the 3d April was called a measure subversive of order; and a new law was framed by Bozzelli, by which the Electoral Colleges were ordered to meet on the 15th June, and the opening of Parliament was fixed for the 1st July. The soldiers who had pillaged Naples received large rewards, besides marks of distinction, while General Ruberti was cashiered for having refused, on the preceding 27th January, to fire on the city, arrests commenced, domiciliary visits were renewed, spies flourished, and the old system of police was restored.

The news from the capital was received with indignant rage in the provinces, where, however, they determined only to signify their displeasure by energetic protests. Calabria alone broke out into open revolt; and when the account of the 15th May reached the army, Alessandro Poerio, who had accompanied General Pepe as a volunteer, exclaimed in grief and indignation, that "the deputies to the Neapolitan Parliament would be unworthy of the name, if they did not join the insurrection of Calabria against the tyrant, and that if it were not so, he would not look one of them in the face again, not even his brother Carlo." His words were fulfilled, though in a manner he did not then anticipate, as he never returned to Naples, but died a few months later, fighting gallantly at Venice. Pepe was now at Bologna, where he received urgent letters from Manin, President of the Provisional Government of Venice, and from the King of Sardinia, to cross the Po, and hasten to assist in the war of Italy. On the 22d May, Statella visited the General, accompanied by the bearer of a letter and message, containing the official account of the disturbances of the 15th May, and recalling the troops to Naples.

Reports had meantime been circulated among the soldiers, that their general intended to betray them to the Austrians, and prevent their return home, where they were wanted for the defence of their sovereign, and the protection of their innocent wives and children, menaced by republicans who had done violence to the King, and intended to destroy the city with fire and sword. On the other hand, a letter from the wife of one of the officers urged her husband to proceed to the war, adding, that the stain on the Neapolitan and Swiss soldiers of the 15th May could only be washed out in the blood of the enemies of Italy. Pepe's first impulse on receiving the order for the return of the troops, was to resign the command to Statella, and to offer himself as a simple volunteer to Charles-Albert. Statella accordingly immediately issued orders to the chiefs of the different corps to commence the retrograde march. But Pepe learning that same day that the second and third divisions were well-disposed towards the war, repented his step, and, supported by the enthusiasm of the Bolognese people, wrote to Statella resuming the command; an order in which Statella instantly acquiesced, at the same time requesting leave himself to depart for Naples. That same evening Pepe wrote both to the King and the Minister of War, declaring his determination to disobey their orders. Symptoms of insubordination, however, began to appear among some of the troops, who expressed their desire to obey the commands of the King, and the desertion of whole regiments followed. The example soon became general, and only one battalion of the line, with eight field-pieces, a company of engineers, and two battalions of volunteers, accompanied Pepe to Rovigo, where, learning the fatal defeat of the papal troops under Durando at Vicenza, they proceeded to Venice, which they reached on

the 13th June. The troops of the line, and engineers, were soon afterwards recalled by Ferdinand, and all the Neapolitans abandoned the seat of war, except Pepe with his little band of volunteers, and a few officers and soldiers, who acknowledged they owed a higher duty to their country than to their king.

Ferdinand, now relieved from all apprehension of revolt at Naples, was wholly occupied in planning an expedition against Sicily. A truce had been concluded, which terminated on the 21st May, and the Sicilians had generously released three hundred Neapolitan prisoners. The Sicilian Parliament expressed their sympathy for the victims of the 15th May, by wearing mourning three days, and the national guards at Palermo performed a funeral service in their honour. In June, some hundred volunteers crossed to Calabria to aid the insurgents. General Nunziante was there with a strong force, and General Busacca, who commanded the Neapolitan troops quartered in the south, advancing to meet him, the rebels were attacked on both sides. Not confining himself to the ordinary and legitimate means to put down an insurrection, General Nunziante stirred up the lowest of the populace against their countrymen. The partisans of the Crown fell upon the property of those suspected of disaffection, and carried off their cattle and crops, in many cases even retaining possession of the land itself,[1] and the whole province became a prey to anarchy and military excesses. General Nunziante besides usurped to himself an arbitrary power, while dissolving the national guards, and placing weapons in the hands of persons devoted to the royal interest. Mariano D'Ayala, Intendente at Aquila, had vainly endeavoured to dissuade the people within his jurisdiction from a revolt, for

[1] See State Papers, Naples, 1848.

he was aware how inadequate were their means to insure success; but he was himself obliged to fly on the approach of the royal troops, and sought refuge in Tuscany, where a few months later he was appointed Minister of War. At Reggio, an officer in command ordered the execution of three respectable tradesmen, under the pretence they were Messinese in disguise, and when prosecuted for the act, he was shielded by the powerful protection of Nunziante; while the public prosecutor Albavella was summoned to Naples, deprived of his office, and soon afterwards forced to fly under a false accusation. In spite of the danger threatening those who acted justly, the Government found considerable difficulty in forcing the Calabrian judges to comply with their demands. Nunziante issued a proclamation, with the promise of a royal pardon, which he violated as soon as he had secured his victims. One of those who, trusting to this promise, delivered himself up, was Domenico Muratori, formerly Intendente of the province, and now nearly eighty years of age; he was seized, and imprisoned in the castle of Reggio, where he soon afterwards died, denied even the sight of his children. The insurrection in Calabria was thus speedily crushed, and the Sicilian volunteers, while endeavouring to effect their escape to Corfu, were ensnared by a Neapolitan vessel, hoisting English colours. It was vain for England to protest against this insult to her flag. The prisoners were conveyed to Naples, and confined in a loathsome dungeon in the castle of Sant' Elmo, where they remained for months without trial.

The news of the victory of Charles-Albert at Goito on the 30th May, and the surrender of Peschiera, where his soldiers had saluted him King of Italy, spread joy throughout the peninsula. But in Rome and Naples, the people

could only rejoice in secret, for the celebration of the event within the circles of private families in Naples, was enough to raise suspicions of a conspiracy against Ferdinand in favour of the King of Sardinia.

On the 15th June, the day before the elections were to take place, Naples was relieved from a state of siege. Notwithstanding attempts at intimidation, nearly all the same deputies were returned. Parliament opened on the 1st July. The King, who had never left his palace since the 15th May, deputed the Duke di Serra Capriola, to open it in his stead. The tri-coloured flag floated, as in mockery, from Sant' Elmo, but the city was silent and gloomy. Many of the shops were closed, and many respectable families left Naples.[1] The deputies, to the number of about forty, met in the great hall of the Museo Borbonico; but it was only on the 7th July, the full number to constitute a chamber (eighty-three members) was complete, when the joyful shouts of a crowded gallery responded to the announcement of the first legal representation of the nation. The ministers were only feebly supported by the right; the left was led by Carlo Poerio; the extreme left by Carlo Troya; there was never therefore, a more unanimous parliament, while within the precincts of the city reigned abject servility or brutal ignorance. The army and the great body of the clergy were opposed to a representative assembly: all confidence had ceased between the Chamber and the King; the ministers, aware of the light in which they were regarded by the deputies, affected to treat them with contempt, and the citizens in terror mistrusted all parties, and began to detest the word liberty: for as men of enlightened and discerning views must form a small minority in every country, it is the wisest course

[1] State Papers, Naples, 1848.

for ephemeral despotism to throw obloquy on those whose vocation is to call forth generous aspirations in the heedless multitude, and who keep the fire of patriotism and virtue alive, which, without their care, will smoulder away beneath the rubbish of temporal interests, or be extinguished by indolence and fear. Bozzelli assured the King of his power to silence the opposition, and on his first appearance in the Chamber, supported by his colleagues, he spoke at considerable length in praise of his royal master, while censuring the conduct of the late ministers. In his replies to questions addressed him by the deputies, he was especially discourteous towards his former friend and colleague, Carlo Poerio, and on his return to the King, he informed his Majesty the Parliament was made up of conspirators, and was unworthy of the royal confidence.

Ferdinand meantime recalled Admiral De Cosa from the defence of Venice, while Charles-Albert was vainly petitioning for the aid of only four ships of war. The minister Cariati only replied to these requests, "That though the state of the King of Naples' treasury, and his misfortunes, prevented his sharing in so noble an enterprise, he could admire the prowess of the Piedmontese army, and wish them a speedy and happy victory." The address of the Chamber to the King, composed by Roberto Savarese, was unanimously carried. They offered to support the ministers, provided an expedition was immediately sent to the aid of the King of Sardinia, and their constitutional rights restored. The first request was treated by the ministers as a proposal to deprive the King of his throne. The second led to a discussion on the late events in Calabria, which, with the treacherous capture of the *Sicilian* volunteers, Bozzelli undertook to justify, while *acknowledging* that Nunziante had acted under orders from

the ministers. Reproaches and recrimination followed. Poerio related facts, proving the unconstitutional conduct of the ministers, which a few days later called forth an insolent article by General Nunziante, addressed to the Minister of War, and published in a paper (the organ of the army), heaping abuse on Poerio and Muratori (the deputy for Reggio in Calabria), which was followed by a spirited reply from Poerio in the Chamber. The ministers were disappointed in their hope that the question of Sicily would raise discord in Parliament, for the sympathy shown there for the victims of the 15th May, and the aid afforded by Sicilian volunteers in the insurrection of Calabria, had produced a better feeling toward Sicily.

The Parliament of Palermo was meantime occupied with the choice of a king. They hesitated between the Duke of Genoa, second son of the King of Sardinia, suggested by England, and the infant son of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, recommended by the French, who were jealously watching the ascendency of their neighbour Piedmont, as well as the influence of the English Government. Agents in the Bonapartist interest strove, but without success, to obtain the election of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. The choice finally rested on the Duke of Genoa. Gioberti, who was then making an almost royal progress through the cities of the Peninsula, increased the ill-will between Naples and Sardinia, by urging, in his addresses to the Italian people, an extension of the Sardinian kingdom, and that it should include all the States now without a sovereign; Lombardy, Venice, Parma, Modena, and Sicily; and, on his arrival in Rome, he privately received the assurance of Pius, that should the arms of Charles-Albert prove ultimately successful, he would *crown him* King of Italy. The Sicilians, anxious

to obtain admission into the proposed Italian league, had sent commissioners to Rome, Florence, and Turin; they were received with enthusiastic joy by the people of these States; Pius and Leopold acknowledged the justice of the Sicilian revolution, and the King of Sardinia, while expressing his approbation of the conduct of Sicily, spoke disparagingly of the Court of Naples.

On the 11th July, the Duke of Genoa was declared king, under the name and title of Albert Amedeus I. On the 12th, the French and English admirals saluted the Sicilian flag, and on the 15th, Admiral Parker, with the officers of both fleets, attended a solemn mass, and received the Sicilian ministers on board their vessels with the customary salutations. An English steam-brig conveyed the envoy to Genoa with the offer of the crown, and bearing the draft of the Constitution. He arrived at an unpropitious moment. Charles-Albert had been forced to abandon Milan to the Austrians, and to retire into Alessandria. Unwilling in the hour of defeat to involve himself in a quarrel with Naples, he, after some hesitation, refused the crown of Sicily for his son. From that time the tone of England and France towards the Sicilians began to alter. They, indeed, offered to mediate once more between them and the King of Naples, but failing in their good offices, they prepared to abandon them to their fate. To the loss of that foreign protection on which they had imprudently leaned, were added those dissensions among themselves, which unhappily are sure to occur in the commencement of every new State, and rendered the situation of the Sicilians at this time more critical, by weakening their powers of resistance when most needed.

The choice of the Duke of Genoa by Sicily, rendered Ferdinand more determined than ever not to comply with

the wish of his Parliament to send aid to Lombardy; which, on the other hand, the Chamber, moved by the disasters of the Piedmontese army, was equally resolved should be complied with. An envoy who arrived from Tuscany with a request for the renewal of the scheme for an Italian league was coldly received, and the very mention of the war of Italy was considered an insult to the Neapolitan army. Another attack was made on Poerio by the privileged organ of the press, comparing him to Caius Gracchus, and stigmatizing the Chamber as an illegal assembly. In a meeting of officers, presided over by Prince Torchiarolo, it was resolved to assassinate the deputies, Poerio, Scialoia, Massari, Conforti, and Spaventa. Though possibly only empty menaces, their friends took alarm, and endeavoured vainly to dissuade them from attending the Chamber.

On the 8th August, the Peers sent up a humble address to the King, expressing their heartfelt gratitude to the august author of the constitutional Statute.[1] The address of the Commons, composed by Roberto Savarese, followed; which was at once dignified and respectful. Besides the clauses already mentioned, they ventured to suggest the re-organization of the national guard by a definitive law, to express their regret at the recall of the troops, and to declare their conviction that the political regeneration of the country could not be completed without the independence and reconstitution of the whole Italian nation.

The misfortunes of the Piedmontese arms had produced a painful depression in Naples, from whence Lord Napier writes, August 14th: "The liberal party, which embraces the greater portion of honest and educated persons in the upper and middle classes, has been thrown into consterna-

[1] See State Papers, Naples, 1848.

tion by a catastrophe so unforeseen. They seem to have lost their last support and pretension to a permanent share in the conduct of public affairs. In the triumph of the Sardinian arms, and the consolidation of the representative form of government in the other States of Italy, the moderate liberals of Naples beheld a collateral security against the complete ruin of their hopes and destruction of their rights, which have been scarcely exercised. . . . Your Lordship may then conceive the dismay with which the party have learned that the Germans have found again their ancient strength, and have shattered in a week the fabric of Italian independence."[1]

On the 4th September, the King signed the act for the prorogation of Parliament, although he had not yet consented to receive the deputations charged to present him with the address. The ministers alleged in excuse that the Second Chamber was illegally constituted, many persons having been elected without the requisite qualifications. This had been the case in some instances, in the hurry and excitement occasioned by the event of the 15th May, and the revolt in Calabria, but the deficiency had passed unnoticed until after the address had been sent up. On the 5th September the Chamber was prorogued.

While the decree was reading to the members, certain persons were employed to stir up the people in the quarter of Santa Lucia (inhabited by the lowest populace of the city), to make a demonstration in honour of the King, and in contempt of the Constitution. The deputies had returned quietly to their homes, when a rabble, composed chiefly of women, children, and young lads, formed themselves into a procession, and bearing the white flag, passed *along the* Toledo, shouting "Long live the King! Down

[1] See State Papers, Naples, 1848.

with the Constitution!" As they proceeded, they encountered a band of Lazzaroni advancing from the district of Monte Calvario, where all were constitutionalists, and a dispute arose, which was followed by a battle of stones, ending in the discomfiture of the royalists, who fled home in disorder. Passing the palace on their way, they tendered their services to the King, mingled with lamentations on the treatment they had received, but they were dispersed by a patrol of hussars drawn across the square. The victors of Monte Calvario were next fired on by the troops sent to restore order; one man was killed and several wounded. During the night the police searched the adjoining houses for arms, and made many arrests, while the royalists who had commenced the disturbance were left unmolested. This demonstration in favour of the Constitution from the Lazzaroni alarmed the King, who accordingly sent for the director of police, and removed him from his office. When reproached by Ferdinand for not having foreseen the riot, he replied he could not be responsible for a movement plotted within the palace by the servants of his Majesty; upon which the King only remarked, that his servants were likewise to be punished if they promoted public disorders. Bozzelli was dismissed from the ministry of the interior, and accepted that of public instruction, while Raffaelle Longobardi, a pupil of Canosa and Del Carretto, was appointed to the office they had once filled. Naples was filled with police and soldiers, and many of the citizens fled or concealed themselves.

The expedition against Sicily started on the 3d September. It was composed of 16,000 troops, of which 2500 were Swiss, under the command of General Filangieri. Filangieri had always been opposed to the Sicilian Constitution both by his *principles* and interest. From the time of the dis-

missal of Del Carretto, he had enjoyed the entire confidence of the King, who found his military attainments useful. The influence thus obtained, the General had been careful to secure, by cautiously avoiding all expressions in favour of liberty, or any topic which could prejudice him in the eyes of his sovereign.

It was now that the error of the Sicilians, in leaving the citadel of Messina in the hands of the King, became apparent. As Filangieri could not effect a landing near the town, which he had at first proposed, he withdrew his troops to the opposite coast, and waited until the citadel had completed the preliminary work of destruction. The people of Messina were resolved to perish beneath the ruins of their city, rather than submit again to the hated yoke of Ferdinand. "Let Messina fall," they exclaimed, "so long as liberty is saved!" Women, children, and old men, indifferent to the shower of balls which fell around on their devoted city, stood at the windows, shaming the cowardly, stimulating those who hung back, and encouraging the bold. The expected aid from Palermo only amounted to two hundred men, for a false report which was believed there, that the real aim of the Neapolitans was the metropolis, and the attack on Messina only a feint (besides internal dissensions, and want of order and discipline), prevented the necessary succour being sent. The citadel maintained its fire during four days, yet not a voice was heard to demand capitulation. The valour of an undisciplined multitude, however, cannot long withstand the attacks of a regular army; Filangieri effected a landing; but, as he himself afterwards wrote in his despatches, he had to contest the ground inch by inch. Three times *bombarded* in one year, exposed to shells thrown from the *citadel* during eight months, yet even now, after a desperate

struggle of four days amidst their falling houses, the Messinese, with dauntless courage, were as determined as ever to resist the entrance of the Neapolitan troops. On the fifth day the Sicilian batteries were silent from want of ammunition, and Filangieri recommenced the attack with redoubled ferocity. Fighting hand to hand, he made his way into Messina, setting fire to the houses, and sparing neither age nor sex, church nor monastery; a thick cloud of smoke filled the street, and added to the confusion of the combatants; the soldiers fastened up the doors of the hospital, and burned the wounded within alive. The battle raged during three days, and Filangieri would have levelled Messina with the ground, had not the English and French admirals, anchored in the port, and who had hitherto been passive spectators of the scene, at length interfered to stop the slaughter. The mediating powers persuaded the King to consent to an armistice, by which the Neapolitan troops were to occupy Messina and Mélazzo, with a circuit of several miles, to avoid collision with the Sicilian army, who were to be posted at a certain distance from the boundary line. This state of things continued five months, in which time both sides prepared for a renewal of hostilities. The stern spirit of hatred was not subdued in the midst of surrounding dangers. The Sicilians tore down the proclamations of the King beneath the eyes of his soldiers; women left the churches when prayers for Ferdinand were offered up, and priests contrived to smuggle the church plate across the boundaries for the use of the Sicilian government.

The Italians of the North meantime continued their efforts for a league, and it was hoped the King of Naples might be found more amenable to terms after the refusal of the Sicilian crown by the Duke of Genoa. Gioberti

was actively engaged in Turin in the scheme for an association to be called *The National Society*, which was opened on the 27th September by him, as president; and Italians from all parts of Italy, and of all shades of opinion, flocked to the first meeting. Pellegrino Rossi in Rome, was at the same time forming the project of a league which should be confined to the sovereigns of Italy, and he commenced by making advances to Naples, hoping thus to smooth the way to a reconciliation with Austria. Associated as Rossi was in the minds of the Roman people with the intrigues of Guizot, his desire to conciliate the two courts who had shown themselves most hostile to Italian liberty, was not calculated to improve his popularity; and his contempt of public opinion, which he took no pains to hide, while labouring to establish in practice his own theories for the future welfare of the people, was leading to an end as tragical for Italy as for himself.

Parliament was convoked to meet again in Naples on the 30th November. Once more the people returned liberals, and even Saliceti, who was in Rome, and Pepe at Venice, were invited to take their seats in the Neapolitan Chamber. On the 24th November, however, the meeting of Parliament was adjourned until the 1st February 1849.

On the 27th November, the King, the royal family, and a large body of the clergy, escorted by about 1400 of the troops, left Naples for Gaeta, where the Pope had arrived, seeking the protection of Ferdinand. He had forfeited the respect and attachment of his subjects from the time of the publication of the *Encyclica*. Want of confidence in the Government, the inflammatory language of demagogues, the absence of men of sufficient ability to control the frightful license devastating the provinces, and finally,

the appointment of Rossi to the head of the administration, combined with other causes to precipitate Pius from his throne, and complete his alienation from the hearts of his people. The assassination of Rossi, shortly after his elevation to the ministry, overwhelmed Pius with grief and terror, and still further alarmed by the disturbances which followed, he resolved to take the advice of the foreign diplomatists at his Court, and escape from the city. France, Spain, and Austria, disputed the honour of affording an asylum to the head of the Church. Count Spaur, the Bavarian ambassador, who in the absence of a representative of Austria acted for that Court, perceived the necessity of caution towards France and Spain, while resolved that the Pope should not owe his protection to a republican or constitutional government. Pius had already shown himself too much inclined towards liberalism, to be again thrown within reach of infection, and he who was to return an absolute sovereign to Rome, must remain in the interim, the guest of an absolute sovereign. Count Spaur allowed the ministers of France and Spain to send to Civita Vecchia and Gaeta, to have vessels in readiness for the embarkation of the Pope; and the Russian ambassador, assisting his schemes, increased the anxiety of Pius to escape, by acquainting him that he had obtained information that the people intended to imprison him in the Castle of Sant' Angelo. While the Pope's minister, Cardinal Antonelli, was persuaded that his Holiness's destination was Civita Vecchia, or some place within the Roman States, and the French and Spanish ambassadors were respectively making arrangements for his departure, Pius left Rome secretly on the 24th November, and under the conduct of Spaur reached Gaeta, where the vessel he had expected to escort him farther, not being in *readiness*, he remained, as intended by the Count, the

guest of the King of Naples; and Ferdinand hastened thither to offer him his devoted services.

At the time when the news of the assassination of Rossi reached Paris, the alarm of socialism had invested General Cavaignac with the power of a military dictator. He immediately sent telegraphic orders to Toulon to despatch three thousand five hundred soldiers to Civita Vecchia, and sent an envoy with the offer of their services to the Pope. The Parliament of Paris justified this interference, on the ground that the cause of the Pope was the cause of Christendom, and Cavaignac, who was a candidate for the Presidency of the Republic in the approaching election, was accused by some of a desire to gratify the Catholic and priestly party in the country, as well as the pride of the French nation; while others, who formed their judgment by his whole career rather than by a single act, believed him to be sincere in his intention to recall the French troops, when the danger of Austrian interference should be removed.

Naples was, meantime, a prey to military anarchy. The press, which had lately exercised a liberty amounting to license, was now persecuted in every way, and the authors of newspaper articles, threatened with death. This produced a series of servile paragraphs encouraging those in power to add to the restrictions already existing, under pretence of restoring tranquillity. The metropolis was filled with soldiers, who insulted the peaceful inhabitants, and it was in vain for the people to protest against the ill usage to which they were exposed, as the Government either had not the courage or the will to interfere. Matters reached such a climax that the King sent for Filangieri to form a new cabinet, as his influence in the army was supposed to be paramount; but he declined taking

office until the affairs of Sicily had been settled. The condition of Naples is thus described by Poerio, in a letter to General William Pepe, in reply to one acquainting him with the death of his brother Alessandro, from wounds he had received in the engagement at Mestre, near Venice.

"NAPLES, *4th December* 1848.

"My excellent and highly respected friend, I begin by repeating the expressions of my lively gratitude for your kindness and affection, for the efforts you made, and the care you bestowed to preserve the life of my much-loved brother; it was ordained that he should seal his political faith, and his pure love for Italy with his blood. Enough, he died fighting our eternal foe. . . . My good mother feeds her grief in the desire to come and weep over the stone which covers the bones of the beloved dead. I have promised her, that as soon as my parliamentary duties give me leisure, to accompany her to fulfil this wish of her heart. . . . Our misery has reached such a climax, that it is enough to drive us mad. Every faculty of the soul revolts against the ferocious reactionary movement, the more disgraceful from its execrable hypocrisy. We are governed by an oligarchy. The only article maintained, is that respecting the taxes. The laws have ceased to exist; the statute is buried; a licentious soldiery rules over everything, and the press is constantly employed to asperse honest men. The lives of the deputies are menaced. . . . Another night of St. Bartholomew is threatened to all who will not sell body and soul. Meantime the Ministers vacillate, and confess they have no power to arrest or diminish all these abominations. We deputies are resolved to submit to die in our places in Parliament rather than sacrifice *the rights* of the nation; our last cry will be for the

freedom of our country; our blood will bear fruit. Yesterday, Filangieri arrived from Messina; it is said, to form a new ministry, and put a stop to the license of these brigands, who three days ago maltreated twenty peaceable unarmed citizens, and among them two Frenchmen. Rayneval[1] has made an energetic protest on the subject. The Government has given out an order for the day, but (who would believe it?) the chiefs of the army dare not publish it. . . . All fear a violent crisis. Heaven preserve this country from final ruin! . . . CARLO POERIO."

A junta was now instituted to carry on the Government in Rome, as Pius refused even to receive the deputations sent to entreat him to return. It was therefore vain for him to protest against their acts, and declare them null and void. Gioberti, now minister to the King of Sardinia, saw danger for Italy in the Pope relying for his restoration upon foreign means, and sent him the offer of an asylum in Nice. Mazzini, on the other hand, wrote to the Roman government, urging them to establish a republic; and Garibaldi[2] arrived in the capital, prepared for its defence. At Christmas, the Pope celebrated the nativity of our Lord in the church at Gaeta, in the presence of the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family of Naples, with the diplomatic corps assembled at his Court. Cardinal Antonelli, who had quitted Rome almost immediately after the flight of Pius, was now his principal adviser. A native of the kingdom of Naples, he had entered the priesthood in his youth, and rising rapidly, became Governor of Viterbo, where he had endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the liberal party; but after 1837, he found it more for his

[1] *Rayneval* was French minister.

[2] *Garibaldi* had landed at Nice from Monte Video on the 24th of June, and had offered his services to Charles-Albert, but had been rejected.

interest to court the favour of Pope Gregory. On the accession of Pius, he became an advocate for reform, and when chosen to preside over the new Council of State encouraged the institution of a representative assembly, but again changing with the tide, he was now on the side of despotism. On the 1st January, Pius sent an admonition to the Roman people, threatening those with excommunication who should assist at the approaching elections for a general Italian Parliament; but his admonition was treated with contempt in Rome, and was equally disregarded in Naples. Cardinals and priests, who believed themselves in danger, were daily arriving in disguise at Gaeta. Anxious to avoid having recourse to France or Spain, all turned with eager hope to Austria and Naples; while the Emperor of Russia himself offered his services as "a loyal ally to restore the Pope to his temporal and spiritual power in Rome." The election of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to the presidency of the French Republic, and his choice of ministers whose principles leaned toward monarchy, was a good omen for the future of the despotic powers of Europe. No sooner were the designs of the Court of Gaeta known in Paris, than a minister was sent thither to assist the resident ambassador, the Duc d'Harcourt, and represent to the Cardinals that France would feel aggrieved by any scheme which was not first imparted to her. The Archbishop of Cambray likewise arrived with offers of an asylum, while an envoy from Turin repeated the hospitable invitation of the Sardinian King. Pius, while acknowledging to this last, that his restoration was to be effected by Austria, added with some bitterness: "*They* willed it so." Though Gioberti, in the hope of propitiating the Pontiff, had stopped all intercourse *with the government* at Rome, Pius was forced to break

off relations with Turin, and the character of Charles-Albert was so maligned by the Neapolitan ministers themselves, that the Sardinian ambassador was recalled from that Court.

In February, all the foreign representatives at Gaeta visited Naples, in order to be present at the opening of Parliament, except Counts Spaur and Ludolf, who awaited the arrival of Count Esterhazy, as ambassador from Vienna. On the 2d February, a Republic was proclaimed in Rome, and the example was followed in Tuscany. The Grand Duke left Florence for Sienna, and thence proceeded to San Stefano, ready to quit his dominions. Gioberti offered the arms of Sardinia to Leopold to restore him to his throne, but the offer was rejected, and the Grand Duke sought refuge with the Pope at Gaeta, where he was joyfully welcomed, especially by the Austrian and Russian representatives.

The Neapolitan Parliament opened on the first February. Aurelio Saliceti, who had not been able to obtain a passport to return to Naples, was, a few days later, chosen one of the Triumvirs of the New Republic in Rome. In reply to the King's speech, the Chamber expressed their disapprobation of the conduct of his ministers, and entreated his Majesty to change his Cabinet. The ministers, in return, hardly appeared to recognise the existence of a Parliament. Bozzelli and Ruggiero alone endeavoured to conciliate the deputies, but without success. After a month had elapsed (during which time a vain attempt had been made to sow dissensions between the Chambers of Peers and Commons, and the ministers had abstained from holding communication with either House), on the morning of the 13th March, the deputies were about to enter their hall of meeting, when the President Capitelli

received a sealed packet from the hands of the Minister Prince Torella, containing a decree dissolving the Chamber. As soon as the King's pleasure was made known, the members hastened to convert a royal decree (arbitrarily modifying the electoral franchise) into a law; and thus, as far as lay in their power, deprive the King of any pretext for erasing the form of a constitutional government from the Statute-Book.[1] The deputies departed two and two, taking different roads, to avoid exciting a disturbance, but were greeted by the people as they passed. The soldiers and police celebrated the day by feasts and rejoicings, while a gloomy silence pervaded the city. The sky itself was lowering, and Vesuvius sent forth clouds of black smoke from the crater, as if nature herself mourned this final deathstroke to liberty.

About the end of February, the Sicilians received an intimation from the mediating powers, of a proposal to re-unite the crowns of Naples and Sicily on the head of Ferdinand, with a promise on his part to guarantee them the Constitution of 1812, and an entirely separate administration and army. Despotism was now again rearing its head in Europe, and the Russian minister, Chreptowitch, did not hesitate to urge Ferdinand to break the truce with Sicily, and renew the war. Lord Palmerston enjoined the British minister, Sir William Temple, to settle the terms of peace secretly with the French minister, and Louis Napoleon, the unsuccessful candidate for the Sicilian crown, anxious to ingratiate himself with the sovereigns, and having already taken up the cause of the Pope, ordered his representative, Rayneval, to yield to all the demands of the King of Naples,[2] as, he asserted, the desire of the Sicilians

[1] *North British Review*, February 1858, p. 42.
[2] See *Storia d'Italia*, 1814-1850, vol. ii. p. 30.

for a separate army was an insult to his Majesty. After a few weeks' parley, the French and English diplomatists consented to admit Filangieri (who was now called the butcher of Messina) to their conferences. He persuaded them first to renounce the condition of a separate army for Sicily, and next to exchange the Constitution of 1812 for the charter of the 28th February 1848, which had been formerly rejected by the Sicilians, because, while Ferdinand offered to make the Constitution the basis for the new statute, he had reserved to himself the power of amendment, and totally ignored some of the most important clauses, securing the independence of Sicily. The Sicilians were now, in addition, to pledge themselves to pay, besides the taxes, a subsidy of six millions of francs towards defraying the expenses of the war. These terms were refused, and the English and French plenipotentiaries left Palermo. Hostilities immediately recommenced, and General Filangieri resumed the command of the Neapolitan forces. All the inhabitants, men, women, and children, assisted to fortify Palermo; but without an efficient army or navy, badly officered (for in their hatred to all connected with the former government, they had refused the proffered services of General Statella), they were in every way inferior to the enemy. Filangieri's troops were joined by the royalist soldiers already in Messina and Mélazzo; a battle ensued, in which the Sicilians were totally routed; and Catania was soon afterwards taken. When the news reached Gaeta, they caused great rejoicings. Pius and his cardinals joined their thanksgivings to those of the King of Naples, and a mock battle was fought at sea, as an entertainment fitting the occasion. The fall of Catania, the defeat of their army, and half the island in the hands of the Neapolitans, struck

Palermo with terror, where want of union in their rulers had already shaken the confidence of the people. The French Admiral Baudin offered his mediation, and advised them to surrender at discretion, and trust to the generosity of the King of Naples. The Sicilians accordingly yielded to their hard fate, and only demanded an amnesty for all except the principal authors of the rebellion, who were reduced to forty-two persons. Filangieri entered Palermo as the lieutenant of the King, and immediately ordered all signs of the late revolution to be obliterated, proclaimed the restoration of the Bourbon government, and recalled those to power who had been noted for their devotion to Ferdinand. He then broke the terms of surrender by refusing the promised amnesty, and Sicily was again doomed to be the victim of Neapolitan tyranny.

On the 14th February, Cardinal Antonelli had addressed a letter to all the States of Europe, declaring the resolution of the pontiff to accept the assistance of Austria for his restoration. Hardly had this letter been despatched, when Neapolitan soldiers were sent to the frontiers, and Marshal Haynau with a corps of ten thousand men marched from Padua, where he was quartered, to Ferrara, from whence he only withdrew after exacting a large sum from the citizens, insulting the cardinal who governed the city, and who endeavoured to dissuade him from his exorbitant demand, and carrying away six of the most respectable inhabitants as hostages. This news raised the hopes of the Court at Gaeta, who believed that ere long the Pope would be reconducted to Rome by the Emperor and the King of Naples. In Sardinia, meantime, Gioberti's interference in Tuscany had led to his dismissal from the cabinet, and none were found of equal ability to take his *place. He retired* to Paris, where, unable to procure

assistance for his country from France, and frustrated in all his endeavours by the Piedmontese ministers, he died in 1851. The King, in Alessandria, was absorbed in the project of a renewal of hostilities, and the desire to wipe out the shame of his defeat. On the 30th March, he again proclaimed war, but three days later he was totally routed at Novara by Marshal Radetsky. So bitter was this extinction of his last hopes, that he at once resigned his crown to his son Victor Emmanuel, and retired to Nice, and thence to Portugal, where he died the following July. In April, a Neapolitan army of sixteen thousand men, with the King at their head, invaded the States of Rome, and took up their quarters at Albano and Frascati. Ferdinand seized on all republican magistrates he fell in with, besides travellers and the inhabitants of the country, shutting them up in the prisons with ordinary delinquents; while his soldiers scoured the country in search of cattle. On the 7th May, Garibaldi attacked part of the army, at Palestrina, put them to flight, and took a few prisoners. They were again defeated in a skirmish, on the 9th, with the loss of about a hundred men; and on the 16th and 17th May, when the Roman army marched out of the city to attack them, the Pope, alarmed for the safety of Ferdinand, sent to entreat him to return to Naples. The King thought it wisest to comply, and abandoning Albano, led his troops to Velletri, where, however, he fell in with the enemy. After the Neapolitans had been once more defeated, Ferdinand turned his back on the Roman States; and finding by experience that his taste for war did not equal his taste for soldiers, he hastened to re-enter his kingdom.

Garibaldi returned to Rome, where his presence was *indeed* required, for, in spite of protests, even from the *Pope* and cardinals, a French army, under General

Oudinot, had arrived at Civita Vecchia to the assistance of Pius. It was vain for Mazzini, who had reached Rome, to proclaim that the Republican Parliament were ready to leave the Pope the free exercise of his spiritual authority. Oudinot commenced the siege, refused the proffered aid of Spain and Naples, and declared that France intended to make her entry into the Eternal City alone. The Tuscans meantime had imprisoned the republican leaders in Florence, and had sent to invite the Grand Duke to resume possession of his throne. In September, the Pope left Gaeta for Portici on board a Neapolitan vessel, and was escorted thither by Ferdinand, who continued as assiduous as ever in his devotion to his Holiness.

From the day which had brought the news of the battle of Novara, the King of Naples felt secure that he might throw off the mask of constitutionalism which he had until then maintained; and the metropolis became a scene of arrests and arbitrary violence. Pietro Leopardi, on his return from Turin, and Silvio Spaventa, were the first on the list of those proscribed. One Gaetano Pechenada, under the title of prefect, superintended the prosecutions, and, contrary to the express law of Naples, was permitted to search houses, restore the system of domiciliary visits by night, and arrest suspected persons, without a warrant from an accredited court of justice. An obscure disciple of Del Carretto, Pechenada was not slow in showing himself an adept of that school. Prince Torella and Bozzelli were dismissed from the cabinet; the last accepting from Ferdinand a pension of three thousand ducats annually. The Jesuits returned to Naples, on a petition from the archbishop, and the King restored to them the superintendence of all the schools and colleges.

With the return of the Jesuits recommenced the trials

by inquisition for political offences. Philippo Agresti, a man of unsullied character, though rash and incautious, and who had returned from exile in 1848, was arrested in March, and confined in a horrible cave, excavated in a rock. In June, Settembrini, the friend of Poerio, and the author of the Protest of 1847, was thrown into prison; and on the evening of the 18th July, Carlo Poerio received an anonymous letter, warning him of danger; but concluding it to be a trick of the police, he determined to remain where he was. The next day he was arrested, his house searched, and papers seized. He was first confined in the prison of San Francesco, where he demanded to be interrogated within twenty-four hours, according to law; but it was not until five days had elapsed that he was conducted before the commissary, who showed him a letter, supposed to be in the handwriting of the Marquis Dragonetti, dated Aquila, and informing him of fresh insurrections. The letter was so manifest a forgery, that the commissary quickly turned to a second accusation, by which Poerio was informed that he belonged to a society bearing the name of Italian Unity;[1] and he was then remanded to his dungeon, where he continued until the 1st October. The arrest of the Marquis Dragonetti followed; while Antonio Scialoia, the Archdeacon Luca Cagnazzi, and others, had to escape or conceal themselves. Orders for the seizure of some thousand persons were sent to the prefects and governors of the provinces, and those who had not time to fly, were thrown into prison. Seventy-six of the deputies to the late Parliament were in exile, or among the prisoners confined in loathsome dungeons with

[1] *Società degl' Unitari.* First instituted at Turin for the Italian Confederation, and afterwards taken up by some rash hot-headed youths in Naples, where it only became the motive for more arrests, and was strongly disapproved of by all prudent liberals, and especially by Carlo Poerio himself.

assassins and malefactors,[1] and where the atmosphere is described as being "thick as a London fog, from horrible exhalations."[2]

The single-handed struggle of Venice against Austria was approaching its termination. The death of Alessandro Poerio had been followed by that of another Neapolitan of an equally distinguished name. One of the brothers Rossaroll, who conspired against Ferdinand in 1832, and had since then spent fifteen years in irons, perished at Venice in a gallant action on the 27th June. After enduring all the sufferings of famine and disease with exemplary patience and courage, and after exhausting every means of defence, the Venetians were obliged to surrender to the enemy on the 24th August 1849. Pepe returned to France, while the King of Naples ordered his arrest, wherever found, as "*a common malefactor.*" In the last days of June the French entered Rome, and thus terminated the unequal war of the people against the disciplined armies of the great powers of Europe.

In the midst of the bitter misery caused by disappointed hopes, and of mourning families deprived of fathers, husbands, and brothers, who were languishing in horrible dungeons, the King of Naples was rejoicing at the birth of a daughter, on which occasion the Pope presented him with the consecrated golden rose, a gift reserved for favoured sovereigns, or persons of exalted lineage. Thus did self-interest and fear unite men of opposite characters to rejoice together over the ruins of the country which had given them birth.

The sufferings of the Sicilians induced the English Government to make one more effort in their behalf, and

[1] See *Letter to Lord Aberdeen*, by the Right Hon. W. Gladstone.

[2] *Thus described by Mr. Cochrane.* See *Apology*, the Right Hon. W. Gladstone.

to send a protest to the King against annulling their Constitution. Ferdinand replied, that the Constitution of 1812 had been sufficiently discussed; that the rejection of his offers by the Sicilians had cancelled all his obligations towards them; and that they must bear the consequences of the war. Further, that the rulers of Great Britain ought to remember, that, by the right of nations, he was free to govern his own people as he pleased; that the Sicilians enjoyed peace, and the felicity of being restored to their lawful sovereign; and that the attachment and loyalty existing between him and his subjects would be uninterrupted, if it were not for foreign interference. His Majesty, however, thought it expedient to settle the affairs of the island without further delay. He accordingly decreed that the civil and judicial administration of Sicily should be separate and distinct from that of Naples; and that the Sicilians should contribute one-fourth to the common taxes. The King promised to send one of the royal family, or some person of distinction, to govern Sicily, assisted by ministers, and reserving the final approval of their acts to the sovereign; and he instituted a council at Palermo of members appointed by himself. The national guard was disbanded, and twenty millions of ducats were levied on the people for the expense of the late revolutionary war. This heavy exaction was doubly oppressive to the Sicilians, since they were thus compelled to pay for the destruction of their own cities.

The Pope, to whom General Oudinot had sent the keys of Rome, was invited to visit Naples, in the expectation of rousing the religious enthusiasm of the people; but the Neapolitans only saw in Pius the man who had betrayed the hopes of liberty, and his presence tended to destroy the illusion of sanctity, and dispel the dream of slavish

superstition. The day he arrived, a mine of gunpowder exploded near the palace. The act was so purposeless and so mad, that it was attributed to the Prefect of Police himself, in order to inculpate more persons, and cause a suspicion of fresh plots. Two men were arrested, and accused of belonging to the Society of Italian Unity. They were dragged through the streets, treated with the utmost barbarity, and finally shut up in a subterranean vault of the castle. More arrests followed, while many made their escape. Poerio, with others, was accused of complicity, and removed to the dungeons of the Castell dell' Uovo. He was there visited and interrogated by the governor, the Duke di San Vito, who, telling him all was known, urged him to have pity on himself and his aged mother, confess his guilt, reveal the names of his accomplices, and throw himself at the feet of a merciful prince who would grant him his life; but at the same time assuring him, if he continued obstinate he would be confined in a dark prison, where he would have to endure the most cruel torments, and only leave it a corpse. Poerio replied, that he had no fear of those who, though masters of his body, could not injure his fair name, but that if abandoned by man he would trust calmly in God.

In January 1850, Palermo once more made an unsuccessful attempt at revolt. When all was over, the police arrested six men, who were the following morning brought before a court-martial, by order of Filangieri, who sent this message to the judges: "The criminals I send you for trial are to receive the punishment of death, and are to be executed *to-day* in the Piazza della Fiera Vecchia, where the revolutionary outbreak began in 1848, and where the second attempt was made." There was no proof that *these men had taken* any part in the disturbances of the

previous day, yet the speech of their counsel was cut short by the arrival of the escort to conduct them to the place of execution; and time was not even allowed for the administration of the sacrament. After this, Filangieri allowed the law to proceed with the usual forms, although he had appointed a certain Noce, president of the court, a Syracusan, noted for his corruption and servility; yet by six votes against two, the court decided there had been no conspiracy, and even failed in attaching any guilt or concern in the late riots to the six who had already perished by the hand of the executioner.[1] Arrests, however, followed in Naples as well as Sicily. In March, the municipality of Naples presented a petition, with upwards of twenty thousand signatures, among which were those of all the officials of the Government, praying Ferdinand to abolish the Constitution. Similar petitions were presented by other municipal bodies. In order to procure the requisite number of names, one-third of the municipal officers of the kingdom were changed in a single day, and those who retained office were threatened with imprisonment if they refused to sign. The King, satisfied with the fact that the Constitution was in reality no more, affected displeasure, in an article which appeared in the official organ of the press. One thousand eight hundred and seventeen of the municipal officers were displaced in the course of a single year, from May 1849 to May 1850,[2] and men obsequious to the Government were appointed in their stead.

Towards the end of March, Cardinal Antonelli announced the intention of his Holiness to return to Rome. He left Naples in April, accompanied by the King as far

[1] See *North British Review*, February 1858, p. 50.

[2] *The Apology*, Right Hon. W. Gladstone.

as the frontiers. Before quitting him, Ferdinand prostrated himself at the feet of the Pope, and, devoutly kissing them, asked his benediction. "I bless you," exclaimed Pius, "and with you I bless your kingdom. I bless your people; nor can I find words to express my gratitude for the hospitality I have received." "I have only fulfilled the duty of a Christian prince," answered the King. To which the Pope hastened to reply, in accents broken with emotion, "Your filial attachment has been great and sincere:" then pressing him in his arms, he saluted him on the forehead; and after the royal princes had kissed the feet of the Pontiff, his Majesty separated from his Holiness.

In June, those accused of belonging to the Society of Italian Unity, some of whom had lain more than twelve months in prison, were brought to trial. The president of the court appointed to judge them was Domenico Antonio Navarro, who was guided by the maxim, *that all persons accused by the King's Government ought to be found guilty.* The pale and haggard faces of the prisoners sufficiently attested the sufferings they had undergone. Navarro, after haranguing them on the nature of their crimes, commenced the interrogation. Antonio Leipnecher, one of the accused, was so weak with fever as to be obliged to be removed; and when brought back a few days later, he was more dead than alive. The president, however, persisted in the interrogation, and almost immediately after his return to his dungeon, he expired. The rest of the prisoners retracted their first confessions, which they affirmed had been wrung from them by torture and threats. The judges were confounded, and Navarro furious. Poerio spoke at some length in his own defence, declaring how impossible it had been for him to refute unknown charges,

and that, when informed of them, his exculpation had not been listened to, nor had he been permitted to disprove them publicly, by the unanswerable documents he could bring forward. Michele Pironto, another of the prisoners, was beginning to relate the tortures used in the dungeons by the agents of the prefect, when he was interrupted by the president; but persisting in his depositions, he added, "I cannot be silent; I myself was subjected to cruel proofs. Shut up in a horrible seclusion, lying upon the naked ground, in a stench generating every kind of vermin, my hair and beard shaved as an insult; deprived for a month and twelve days of the sight of a single human being, and forbidden to write to my absent family. I finally underwent a long and insidious examination from the commander of the fort, who, with promises and threats, assured me of the favour of the King if I would confess." [1]

Ferdinand Carafa, who, shrinking from the sight of torture, had signed a letter in prison, accusing several of his companions, now made ample amends, by asking their pardon publicly in the presence of the judges. Settembrini was reserved for the last. He at first answered the interrogatories calmly, but when witnesses of the lowest character were brought up to be examined, some of whom were not even acquainted with the persons of those they accused, and words put into their mouths by the examiners, he could contain himself no longer, but loudly demanded to be led back to prison, that he might not sanction by his presence so infamous a proceeding. The court became agitated, the prisoners started to their feet,

[1] *His prison* was a cell of the Vicaria, eight feet square, below the level of the *ground, where no light* could penetrate except through a grating at the top of the *cell.—See Letter,* Right Hon. W. Gladstone.

and it was some time before order was restored. As Navarro returned to his house, his carriage was attacked by the mob, which did not improve his temper on the succeeding days.

Only six out of the forty-two under trial were acquitted; six were condemned to die, but an order from the King, that if eight were condemned, four were to be pardoned, if six, three, reduced the number to one-half. Those destined for the scaffold were Settembrini, Agresti, and Faucitano. Twelve hours before that fixed for their execution, their punishment was commuted into imprisonment for life. Poerio was offered pardon if he would sue for forgiveness to the King; but he replied, he would not separate his fate from that of his companions. These thirty-six innocent persons, after being clothed in the prison dress, were accordingly assigned to the same dungeon with homicides and assassins, and conducted, some to the island of San Stefano, and others to the Bagno of Nisida. Settembrini was with those sent to the former prison, and there confined with eight persons in a room sixteen palms[1] square. Among his companions was one Cajazzo, a man condemned for murder, who boasted of having assassinated thirty-five persons, and several of them in prison. Poerio and those with him, conducted to the Bagno di Nisida, were chained two and two, day and night, and confined sixteen in a small room, with one unglazed window, while they were only permitted to see their friends for half an hour in the week. The pen of Mr. Gladstone, and of the few who, with risk and difficulty, have obtained a glimpse into those abodes of human misery, has already described a part of the sufferings and torture to which these honest patriots, with many of their unhappy countrymen, were,

[1] A palm, 10.38 inches.

many of them until very lately, and some, after a lapse of years, are still subjected; and the scenes at which we shudder in the tales of Roman heathenism and Asiatic barbarity, hardly exceed those now enacting in Christian Europe.

In May, the ecclesiastics in the prison of San Francesco signed a petition to the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, praying for some alleviation of their unhappy condition, describing themselves as starving on an allowance of less than threepence a day each, pining in an imprisonment which had already lasted years, which made it impossible for their families any longer to provide for them, and outraged by punishment after acquittal. This petition was signed by canons of the church, priests, and missionaries, and was repeated on the 22d of the same month, when it was presented to the criminal court of Naples, but equally without result. Such was the number accused of political offences, that in 1851 the province of Teramo, containing 200,000 inhabitants, had above 2000 exiled or in prison for political offences, and of these last about 203 were in chains. In August, forty-seven persons who had been engaged in the disturbance of Santa Lucia on the 5th September 1848, and had already suffered nearly three years' imprisonment, were brought to trial, accused of having conspired to overthrow the government; whereas the real cause of their arrest had been their turbulent demonstrations in its favour. Twenty-five were sentenced to imprisonment in chains, for a term varying from seven to even twenty-five years, and the rest were remanded for a second trial. The official journal of the 26th September 1851, admits that by the condemnation pronounced by *the special courts* alone during the two preceding years, *794* were in irons, besides 86 priests, who were exempted

from wearing chains; 765 in close imprisonment; 1132 relegated, mostly to the islands; 164 exiled, and 1500 visited with inferior punishments; the correctional judges are also acknowledged to have despatched during the same period no less than 42,670 prosecutions for the infraction of public order, while the military courts in existence at that time are not even alluded to.[1]

Fresh trials were instituted in October 1851, against those accused of conspiracy on the 15th May 1848. The principal victims were Scialoia, Pietro Leopardi, the Marquis Dragonetti, and Saverio Barberisi (upwards of seventy years of age), while first on the list was the Archdeacon Luca Cagnazzi, confined to his house by age and infirmity. The accused were condemned, like those before them, to perpetual imprisonment; but their judge was no longer Navarro, who died that very month of a lingering disease. Cagnazzi died before the trial was completed, and Barberisi, whose bold denunciation of his iniquitous treatment, as well as that of his fellow-prisoners, forms the prominent feature in this trial, expired ten days afterwards in the prison, to which he had been condemned for life.

Naples did not suffer alone, for the same cruelties were enacted in other parts of Italy. The severest form of martial law was introduced into Lombardy, where all who were, or even appeared to be, enemies of the Austrian Government, were punished with death. Under the stern rule of Marshal Radetzky, the taxes were enormous to support a foreign army, and few families did not mourn sons carried off as soldiers, or relations and friends in irons, or publicly flogged and executed. The executions for political offences throughout Italy, from 1848 to 1856, are computed at 673; while the number of victims in Naples alone, since

[1] *See North British Review*, February 1858, p. 58.

the accession of Francis, exceeded at least one-half of those recorded by Colletta at the end of his History, as having perished in the cause of liberty before that period.[1]

A memorandum was transmitted by Mr. Petre, to Lord Clarendon, August 10, 1856, relative to the state of Naples at this time, of which the following are extracts :—

"*July* 26, 1856.—Whoever undertakes to speak the truth concerning the affairs of Naples, runs the risk of not being credited by those who are ignorant of the civil and political condition of that kingdom. A code of laws, both wise and liberal, among the best perhaps in Europe; a normal state of tranquillity among the people, in spite of many existing causes of discontent and agitation; perfect security and indifference on the part of the Government, in spite of the opposition of the greater portion of Europe, and of the threats of England and France, are certainly facts which must go far to deceive the ablest politicians. . .

"The tranquillity apparently existing among the people is certainly no sign either of contentment or resignation. Half a century of fatal experience has unfortunately associated in the minds of most Neapolitans the idea of government with that of oppression; and the failure of their various efforts to rid themselves of it, and the cruel deceptions which invariably followed, ended by converting their longing after amelioration into vague tendencies of destruction, which the fear of worse has now reduced to a state of apathy and prostration. . . . The constant contradiction existing at Naples between right and fact, between the proscriptions of the law and the practices of the administration, could not fail to produce its effect upon the moral and the legal orders. Thence a general distrust *in men and* things; an instinct of illegality throughout the

[1] See *Narrazioni Storiche di* Piersilvestro Leopardi, Note, p. 65.

multitude as well as the Government. These circumstances render the situation of affairs in Naples widely different from that of the other Italian States."

After taking a general review of the events since 1848, he continues thus :—

"Now, as in 1847, it is a question of guarantees, not of reforms. If the civil and political conditions of society in the Kingdom of Naples have grown *de facto* infinitely worse since 1847, *de jure* they have considerably bettered. The Constitution of the 10th February 1848, sanctioned and irrevocably sworn to by the King, has passed into the public law of the kingdom. . . . The fact of the Constitution not being actually in vigour, is no argument or proof of its being no longer in existence. It exists in the same condition as all the other laws of the monarchy, *de jure* though not *de facto*. Arbitrary power supported by military force has usurped the place of all laws. 'The cessation of arbitrary power and the execution of the law,' such is the motto of the honest and enlightened portion of the people in the kingdom of Naples, and that portion includes the great mass of its inhabitants. Lord Clarendon declared in the House of Lords on the 14th July last, that the British Government had recommended to the King of Naples a better administration of justice, an amnesty, and the toleration of inoffensive opinions; and that, nevertheless, nothing could be less satisfactory than the answer of the Neapolitan Government. . . . But allowing that the recommendations of the British to the Neapolitan Government were granted, of what advantage would it be to this country? The King would have the appearance of bestowing what is already established by law, without its putting an end to, or even curbing, the exercise of his arbitrary will and power. . . . It is not to be supposed that

Great Britain and France would constitute themselves the champions of the good and legal government of the kingdom of Naples, by the presence of a permanent squadron of both nations in the Bay of Naples. . . . The sole remedy is to prop up the State by institutions which supply the place of confidence by the support of reason.

"The people suspect the good faith and probity of the Legislator; let the people themselves appoint him. They place no trust in the regularity of the administration; let them directly or indirectly lay down the principles which are to be its guides. They complain of the exorbitancy of the taxes; let them grant and discuss them. Suspicion is only cured by publicity, doubt by discussion, and distrust by reason. The representative system is the only appropriate system in similar circumstances; and as regards Naples, that system is not only a necessity, but happily at the same time it is an act of legality. . . ." The memorandum concludes by urging the intervention of the great European powers to re-establish law and order in Naples.[1]

Since the above was written, Ferdinand II. has died, and his successor, Francis II., a half-imbecile youth, reigns under the guidance of an Austrian stepmother. Another revolution is in progress, which, though for the present centred in Sicily and Naples, promises to be of greater magnitude and importance than any which have preceded it, and, if successful, it is hoped may prove the last. The true nature of the struggle which has so long disturbed the *peace of* Europe daily reveals itself more clearly, by the

[1] State Papers, Affairs of Italy, 1856.

sympathies enlisted on either side. It is not alone the resistance of any one oppressed nation against a despotic government, but the assertion of the principle of independence, justice, and a government formed by the many and for the many, against despotism, and legitimacy or right (miscalled divine) of the few. The cause does not belong to one, but to all the European families. Its champions are the educated middle classes, and the most enlightened portion of the aristocracy, supported by the people, and led by monarchs who represent the democratic principle; whilst opposed to them is a decayed system, propped up by superstition, soldiers, and police. Therefore the cause is that of humanity, and, should despotism gain the ascendant, let no man flatter himself that the liberty, for which he may thank Providence and his ancestors, is secure, or, wrapped in self-complacency, think he may remain isolated, an indifferent and idle spectator of the struggle now going forward. It is only by our hearty sympathy and co-operation (if needed) in a just cause, that we can prove ourselves worthy of the blessings God has bestowed, as well as of that religion which unites all men in a common bond of love and brotherhood.

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